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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF CAPTAIN SIR ANDREW SNAPE HAMOND., BART., R. N.,

1738 - 1828,

covering the years 1738-1793

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PREFACE

In 1939 the Tracy W. McGregor Library of the University of Virginia purchased at public auction some of the papers of Captain Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, R. N., Baronet, 1738-1828. Included in these papers were his autobiography, his account of the American Revolutionary War, 1775-1777, journals kept while commanding various ships in American waters, and some of his letter and order books covering intermittently the years 1771 to 1782.

The editing of Hamond's autobiography, covering the years 1738 to 1793, has been undertaken with the object of generally correlating his life and the events through which he passed to the broad outline of British history in general, and in particular, to the eighteenth century Royal Navy and its operations during the American Revolutionary War. In order to present an adequate commentary on the autobiography, which was written not before Hamond's seventy-seventh year in 1815,[1] supplementary material has been extracted from his

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1. For an account of the determination of this date, see note 306.

letters, orders, and account of the American Revolutionary War, a contemporaneous writing containing some points of important detail omitted from the autobiography. Hamond wrote at an advanced age when his memory was quite naturally apt to err over certain details, such as exact dates and the size of fleets. On these matters the leading authorities have been cited. However, to clarify such subjects, for example, as the route of the 1777 expedition to Philadelphia, as Hamond's testimony defending Admiral Howe at the 1779 Parliamentary inquiry, and as the operations leading up to the capture of Charleston in 1780, some original materials have been consulted in order to emphasize and delineate the importance of the fresh information and interpretation that Hamond has revealed in his various writings.

The autobiography was written in two, green, paper-bound unlined composition books, measuring six by eight inches, and containing one hundred and seventy-three manuscript pages. The account of the American Revolutionary War was written in three similar, red books, but only four by seven inches, and containing only about one hundred and fifty pages.

The manuscripts are very legible. They are rendered without change or modernization with the exception of a number of abbreviations given below, which have been silently expanded. Hamond himself did not follow any rule of abbreviation,

generally practising it only at the end of a line, apparently for the sake of convenience.

abt	for	about	Meditern	for	Mediterranean
acct		account	mercht		merchant
Adml		admiral	Midn		midshipman
betwn		between	Monsr		monsieur
Br.		brigadier	Pdns		pounders
Capt		captain	pendts		pendants
Commissn		commission	prisr		prisoner
Como		commodore	secy		secretary
complimt		complement	shgs		shillings
Genl		general	supern		supernumerary
Govr		governor	wart		warrant
Honble		honorable	wch		which
Mastr		master	witht		without

I am indebted to many for aid in the preparation of this thesis, especially to Professor T. C. Johnson who, in directing my efforts, provided a constant challenge to produce the best. I also express my appreciation to Professor A. D. Fraser for his close attention to the nautical details of the manuscript, to Mr. Francis L. Berkeley, Jr. for locating further Hamond manuscripts in England, and to Mr. J. C. Wyllie and the staff of the McGregor Library for their assistance.

INTRODUCTION

In the course of naval history the outstanding commanders and the famous battles, which have influenced decisively the pattern of a whole war, tend to receive an over-abundance of attention. Admiral Hawke's victory at Quiberon Bay during the Seven Years War is an instance of this. Yet the study of the lesser men and the minor operations is also valuable, as it is indicative of the conditions existing behind the vaunted first line of defense. In essence Captain Andrew Snape Hamond's autobiography is such an example. Although he took part in the battle at Quiberon Bay in 1759, and in several of the larger combined operations of the American Revolutionary War, he was primarily concerned with small squadrons, small ships, and generally the independent command of them.

Hamond himself is a figure who so far has undeservedly remained relatively obscure,[1] being chiefly recognized as

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1. J. K. Laughton has written a short sketch of Hamond in the Dictionary of National Biography. There is also a fuller sketch of his life in John Marshall's Royal Naval Biography, London, 1823, II, 54 ff., and he is briefly mentioned in the leading military and naval memoirs of his day. There is a long and laudatory obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine, May, 1828.

possessing a "fine record of river warfare fame".[2] He narrates here his life up to his fifty-fifth year in 1793 when, giving up active sea duty on account of sickness, he went to the Navy Board where he held the Comptrollership from 1794 to 1806. It is said that he remained in that office, one of the most important of that board, only at the special request of William Pitt, retiring only upon the Prime Minister's death.[3]

The major part of Hamond's autobiography is concerned with his activities in the American Revolutionary War, and is especially valuable for his description of the naval operations off the Virginia coast in 1776, the expedition up the Delaware River in 1777, and the capture of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1780. This autobiography comes to light at a time when increased emphasis is being laid on the activities and reactions of the second rank of naval officers, and it is a substantial addition to the somewhat limited number of original British accounts of the American Revolutionary War.

Little has come to light of the family background of the Hamonds, of Blackheath, Kent. Captain Hamond's grandfather was Samuel Hamond, who died in 1715, leaving a daughter and

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2. W. M. James, The British Navy in Adversity, London, 1926, p. 5.

3. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1828, XCVIII, 556.

a son, Robert, born in 1694. Robert Hamond was a merchant and shipowner of some standing in London (page 2), and around 1732, he married Susanna Snape, the only daughter of Robert Snape, Esq., brother of Andrew Snape, D. D. Captain Andrew Snape Hamond was named after this uncle of his, who was also his godfather. Andrew Snape, the most prominent of his family, was chaplain in ordinary to Queen Anne, and to George I until 1717 when, as a principal disputant, he attacked Bishop Hoadly in the Bangorian theological controversy over the temporal authority of the church. He was Headmaster of Eton for several years from 1711, and in 1719, he became Provost of King's College, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor of that University from 1723 to 1724.[4]

Hamond's naval career may be regarded in many respects as typical of that of the eighteenth century naval officer. In this period, perhaps the majority of sea officers came from "the middling walks of life".[5] These officers could not count on any great social prestige aiding their careers, and unless the "interest" and backing of some naval patron were

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4. J. B. Burke, Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire, London, 1859; Article in the Dictionary of National Biography on Andrew Snape by Thompson Cooper.

5. Michael Lewis, The Navy of Britain, London, 1948, p. 283.

secured, there would be little chance of winning an admiral's flag.

Hamond's entry into the navy was provided through the mercantile activities of his father, and the resulting contact with the Secretary of the Navy Board, as Hamond terms the Clerk of the Acts, meant that he would not have to fight his way up to the quarter-deck through the forecastle, which indeed was rarely done with Admiral Earl St. Vincent being a notable exception (see note 149). But this first backing was alone not enough to push him up the promotion ladder, as he points out on page 25. Something more was needed to insure the success that Hamond came to enjoy. In order for men from "the middling walks of life" to reach the quarter-deck at a young enough age to make higher promotion possible, it became necessary for them to impress their superior officers by sheer ability and efficiency. Hamond was to do just this in a dramatic experience which gained him the support of Admiral Hawke, and Hamond himself recognized that this event "laid the foundation of all my future prosperity in life" (page 26). His subsequent career was aided by the successive interest and backing of John, fourth Earl of Sandwich; His Royal Highness, Edward, Duke of York, younger brother to George III; and Admiral Earl Richard Howe.

There is no indication in Hamond's writings that reveals the reason for his failure to attain flag rank, especially since his last command at sea, as second in command of the Channel Fleet under Admiral Viscount Hood in 1792 was clearly in preparation for higher advancement (pages 137-138). In the normal course of events Hamond would have been promoted to rear-admiral in the general promotion of April, 1794, at which time the three Colonels of Marines of 1793 were raised directly to Rear-Admirals of the White.[6] It was intended, says Hamond (page 140), that he was to be given one of these Colonelcies in 1793.

Yet service at the Navy Board did not preclude advancement to flag rank,[7] for indeed Captain Sir T. B. Thompson, one of Hamond's immediate successors with less seniority, was promoted to rear and then vice-admiral while holding the Comptrollership.[8] It is possible, therefore, that Hamond's knighthood and baronetcy were regarded as suitable recognition

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6. W. L. Clowes, The Royal Navy, London, 1898, IV, 192.

7. G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owen, editors, The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich, 1771-1782, London, 1932-1938, IV, 373.

8. Clowes, op. cit., V, 4, 41.

along with his acceptance into higher social circles.[9] On the other hand he might possibly have antagonized some member of the Admiralty Board.

Hamond entered the Navy in 1753, at a time when the service was in the most capable hands of Lord George Anson, who, as First Lord of the Admiralty from 1751 to 1762 excepting a few months in 1756-1757, effected many sweeping changes and reforms that brought to life a navy formerly laden with moribund admirals and captains, and lethargic under the control of nepotistic politicans who had long held sway at the Admiralty and Navy Boards. Hamond does not once mention Anson. This is perhaps significant, for despite the debt that the country owed the First Lord for the rebirth of the Navy, his general mien was not admired by many of his contemporaries, including Horace Walpole and Smollett.[10]

One of the most needed personnel changes was made in 1747. The old system of promotion to flag rank was based on selection from the captain's list; in the future it was to be based on seniority, with the unwanted or unfit captains being provided for by promotion to the flag list on half pay. By

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9. R. J. E. Auckland, editor, Journals and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland, London, 1861, I, 362, II, 211.

10. D. Hannay, Short History of the Royal Navy, London, 1909, II, 118.

failing to specify the color of the squadron to which they were promoted these men technically were without "posts" or commands. This was the famous Yellow Squadron.[11] The way was thus cleared for the advancement of the younger and more able men attracted by the opportunities offered by the War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years War, and the American Revolutionary War. The number of admirals increased, from the original nine[12], to twenty in 1748, to thirty-seven in 1765, and to fifty-seven in 1783.[13]

Anson effected many changes which bore good fruit during the years covered by Hamond's service. He revised the old system of naval construction by initiating the movement to replace the old 64-gun ships in the line of battle by 74-gun

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11. Admiral Sir H. W. Richmond, "The Navy", in Johnson's England, edited by A. S. Turberville, Oxford, 1933, I, 62.

12. There were nine admirals because in the Dutch Wars of the seventeenth century the fleet was divided into three squadrons: the White, the Red, and the Blue, which were the Van, the Center, and the Rear respectively. Each squadron was further divided into a Van, Center, and Rear. Thus there were nine commands of "posts", from the Admiral of the Fleet, actually Admiral of the Red Squadron, through the three vice-admirals commanding the respective vans, to the rear-admirals commanding the rear divisions. The lowest post was the Rear-Admiral of the Blue. The great increase of flag officers had the effect of turning these nine posts into ranks in the modern sense. (Lewis, op. cit., 267-268).

13. Richmond, loc. cit., 63.

ships, by constructing genuine frigates built for speed and armed with 36 twelve-pounders (note 164), and by introducing a logical system of classifying the ships of the Navy into rates (note 386). The dockyards were considerably improved and the whole service was rejuvenated. In 1748, the first steps were taken to provide the officers with uniforms, which did much to create some esprit de corps, while, in 1755, the marines were put on their modern footing under Admiralty control.[14] A magnificent roster of senior and junior officers stood behind Pitt and Anson: Hawke, Boscawen, and Saunders commanded fleets, while Rodney, Howe, Keppel, Hood and Jervis captained ships. Yet the Treaty of Paris, 1763, was to achieve what England's enemies could not, for, under the subsequent peace-time demand for economy, this great fighting force rapidly deteriorated both in quality and quantity.

The decrease in the monies voted by Parliament for the Royal Navy after 1763 was in line with the general pattern of the eighteenth century, for after each of the three major wars of the century, "the false economy of not spending when it was needed"[15] held sway. In addition, the country did not obtain

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14. Lewis, op. cit., 373; Clowes, op. cit., III, 7 ff.

15. Richmond, loc. cit., 40.

true value for what money was spent. In connection with this parsimonious philosophy, politicians again succeeded to the First Lordship of the Admiralty, which represented in commission the Lord High Admiral. From late 1762 they ruled supreme until March, 1782, with the exception of the four years of Admirals Hawke and Saunders.[16] Corruption and mismangement soon exacted their toll among the personnel as well as among the ships.

John, Earl of Sandwich, became First Lord in 1771, and although British naval weakness in the American Revolutionary War has been generally laid on his "administrative negligence and political intrigues",[17] yet he steadfastly opposed the economies that were forced on him. Even the sharp pen of Horace Walpole records that:

> His passion for maritime affairs, his activity, industry, and flowing complaisance, endeared him to the profession, re-established the marine, and effaced great part of his unpopularity. No man in the Administration was so much master of business, so quick or so shrewd ...[18]

Yet even had there been faultless management after 1771, the situation would still have been critical.

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16. See Appendix A.

17. G. S. Graham, Empire of the North Atlantic, Toronto, 1950, p. 198.

18. Horace Walpole, Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third, edited by D. Le Marchant, London, 1845, IV, 257.

> The unpardonable fault ... lay in the neglect of the navy during many years since 1763 and the condition of impotence to which it had been reduced which made it impossible ... to fit out effective ships or, when fitted, to man them.[19]

In addition to criticism of naval mis-management, there were also criticisms of the general war policy followed by the British government. Secretary-at-War Barrington's plan to blockade the revolting colonies into partial submission was brushed aside by the policy predicated upon the suppression of the rebellion by military force. Thus the navy was reduced to the functions of conveying and supplying the British army in America, stopping American commerce (page 61), and protecting British trade.[20] There were insufficient small cruisers to do this, and Hamond's communications to Admiral Shuldham (note 161), commanding the North American station in early 1776, are full of requests for additional vessels.[21]

French intervention in 1778 forced a change of British strategy, as Hamond points out (page 87). British naval weak-

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19. H. W. Richmond, Statesmen and Sea Power, Oxford, 1946, p. 149.

20. Ibid., 146-147.

21. Hamond to Shuldham, 3 March, 1776, Roebuck's Letter Book, Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia. Also, Despatches of Molyneux Shuldham, edited by R. W. Neeser, New York, 1913, pp. 143 ff.

ness, however, meant that the British Grand Fleet under Admiral Keppel was unable to defeat the French at Ushant, July, 1778, before the Spanish joined the latter. At that time Hamond was not high enough on the naval ladder to be a party in the resulting Keppel-Palliser feud (page 99) and he reveals his impartial naval professionalism by denouncing the Whig Keppel, who had refused to serve against the Americans, when he largely owed his career to the Whiggish Admiral Howe.

Hamond was to express his view of the strategy of the later stages of the American Revolutionary War when he wrote, on November 20, 1779, to William Eden, later Lord Auckland (page 86) pointing out to him, as a minister:

> the absurdity of having a great army in one part of the world and a considerable Fleet in another. Was this army with the West India fleet, or that Fleet with this army, what may not 25 thousand fighting men effect?[22]

The Hamond autobiography brings to light a new revelation concerning the strategy of the British expedition to Pennsylvania in 1777. What Hamond reveals below (pages 72-74, and notes 219, 220) must be viewed against the 1779 Parliamentary inquiry into the Howes' conduct of the American Revolutionary

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22. "Roebuck off New York", B. F. Stevens, comp., Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783, p. 1033.

War, when Hamond, naturally under Admiral Howe's influence (page 98) gave testimony that supported the Howe brothers. This was over the change of the route of the expedition from the Delaware to Chesapeake Bay.

Hamond's plan for a safe landing up the Delaware River, which he presented to the Howes, but which he opposed at the Parliamentary inquiry, possessed much strategic and tactical acumen. Had it been followed, it is quite probable that General Howe would not have been forced to write to Secretary of State Germain on August 30, 1777, from the head of Elk in Chesapeake Bay, that he "cannot hope to co-operate with the northern army".[23] The strategy involved in the change of destination to the Chesapeake Bay was of the deepest significance, for if the British army had been landed up the Delaware, its passage, when needed to assist General Burgoyne and the northern army, would have been comparatively straightforward. On the other hand, for the army to move northward from the Chesapeake would have involved the passage of Philadelphia and the crossing of the Delaware River, without naval assistance, and the transit would have been full of delays.[24]

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23. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, Hereford, 1910, II, 74.

24. T. S. Anderson, The Command of the Howe Brothers during the American Revolution, Oxford, 1936, p. 280.

Thus, in July, 1777, when the British fleet temporarily stood into Delaware Bay, Hamond vigorously championed the cause of an immediate landing. General Howe, apparently, was opposed to this (note 221). Two years were to pass before the Parliamentary inquiry took place, and by that time it was quite natural that Hamond, holding Admiral Howe in high repute, should reverse his stand on the question of the route of the expedition. In supporting the move to Chesapeake Bay, Hamond thus greatly contributed to the defense of the Admiral's career and reputation from the calumnious attacks of the Tory pamphleteers.

Hamond's plan, revealed here for the first time, has a definite place in American historiography. His testimony, defending the Howes from their attackers, has been used and paraphrased, from its original publication in Debrett's Parliamentary Register (XIV, 33-51), by historians from Charles Stedman in 1794,[25] to H. B. Carrington in 1880,[26] to Christopher Ward in 1952.[27] They have used Hamond's testimony either to

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25. History of the American War, London, 1794, I, 290.

26. Battles of the American Revolution, New York, 1880, pp. 364 ff.

27. The War of the Revolution, New York, 1952, I, 331-332.

show that a Delaware landing was unwise, or that the Howes were led to go to the Chesapeake on account of Hamond's intelligence which, until this appearance of his papers, was presumed to be that given at the inquiry.[28] Yet, as Hamond points out (note 319), he did not reveal at the inquiry the full information regarding the change of destination, and thus his testimony brought one historian to conclude that "he proved a most inconclusive witness".[29]

Hamond's information, therefore, opens the way for another evaluation of British strategy in 1777 and the conduct of the Howes during the Pennsylvania expedition.

By early 1779 the situation appeared very gloomy for the hard pressed Royal Navy. Horace Walpole wrote that:

> The whole nation proclaimed it impossible for the King to preserve Sandwich at the head of the Admiralty. It was thought that most of the commanders of the fleet would refuse to serve under him ....[30]

Yet despite the general corruption emanating from a system of divided control and responsibility between the Admiralty and Navy Boards, the nadir had been reached. An efficient First Lord of the Admiralty rarely held office concurrently

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28. J. B. Fortescue, in his History of the British Army, London, III, 214, and James, op. cit., 64, both state that naval advice, presumably that of Hamond, who was in command of the Delaware River squadron, dissuaded General Howe from going up the Delaware. See note 222.

29. W. C. Ford, "Parliament and the Howes", in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1911, XLIV, 137.

30. Last Journals of Horace Walpole, edited by J. Doran, London, 1859, II, 339.

with an efficient Comptroller of the Navy Board. "When one was good, the other was almost always bad."[31] The loss of the American colonies can be partly accounted for by the combination of a weak Admiralty with a weak Navy Board. In 1779, Sandwich nominated Sir Charles Middleton, later Lord Barham (note 309), to be Comptroller of the Navy Board.[32] From 1779 to 1790 Middleton, while renovating the Navy Board, played a great part in prodding the Admiralty into greater efficiency. He was quite openly outspoken about Sandwich's conduct. In a letter to the First Lord in January, 1781, he wrote that:

> Had you followed the disinterested advice I gave as to men and measures you would have had little opposition to contend with in the fleet now. The factious dispositions that have gained strength from your political system would have been crushed, and your situation as firm as a rock at that time. Your Lordship, however, prefers the shadows to the substance. You are used to men of a ductile cast ....[33]

At this time, and until the general reorganization of 1832, the Admiralty Board exercised the executive and military

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31. Lewis, op. cit., 375.

32. Sandwich Papers, IV, 371.

33. Ibid., IV, 374-375.

functions of the Royal Navy, while the Navy Board performed the civil and administrative services. This system was the result of changes inaugurated by James, Duke of York, and Samuel Pepys in the years 1660 to 1673. The Admiralty Board consisted of the Lords Commissioners and a secretary, and it

> shaped naval policy of the government, generally under the direction of the King, as expressed in orders in Council ... controlled the movement of ships ... and kept watch upon the execution of its orders .... It made appointments and signed warrants ... drafted memorials and representations to the Privy Council and the Treasury.[34]

The Navy Board, originally created by Henry VIII to administer the civil business of the navy, had four Principal Officers: The Comptroller, the Treasurer, the Surveyor, and the Clerk of the Acts. There were also a great number of lesser boards and offices, such as the Transport Office, the Victualling Board, the Board of Longitude--in all some seventeen separate parts in 1782.

The Navy Board

> had direct charge of the management of the Navy. It built, equipped, and repaired the ships, fitted them for sea and paid the bills; it re-

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34. C. M. Andrews, Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783 in the Public Record Office of Great Britain, Washington, 1914, II, 3. His introduction contains the best summary of the Royal Navy's administrative organization.

> ported on their general condition, prepared estimates ... and looked after the building of docks and yards .... It was held responsible for all seamen and employees, who were not ranked as fighting men, for all contracts connected with the building, repairing, or stocking the ships of the navy.[35]

Middleton held the Comptrollership for eleven years, and when he left the Navy Board he had done much to put the Royal Navy on a firmer foundation to meet the threat from revolutionary France. Hamond, Comptroller from 1794 to 1806, had naturally less opportunity to broaden his reputation in following such a great man. Middleton had done his work well, and the spotlight shifted to the Earl St. Vincent and then to Middleton again, as Lord Barham, each of whom, as successive First Lords, naturally overshadowed Comptroller Hamond. Then, too, there was William Pitt. So it was doubly unfortunate that sickness forced Hamond to give up active duty in 1793, and at the same time to close his autobiography.

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35. Ibid., II, 4.

OUTLINE OF CAPTAIN HAMOND'S CAREER

1738	Born
1753	Enters the Navy as midshipman
1755	Rated master's mate
1758	Passes lieutenant's examinations
1759	Commissioned as lieutenant on the Magnanime, 74.
1763	Commands the cutter Grace
1765	Promoted master and commander on half pay
1767-1769	Commands the sloop Savage off Ireland and Newfoundland
1770	Commands the Barfleur, 90, Admiral Howe's flagship
1771-1773	Commands the Arethusa, 32, on the North American station
1773-1775	Unemployed
July, 1775 to May, 1780	Commands the Roebuck, 44, on the North American station
1778	Knighted
1780-1782	Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and Commissioner of the navy at Halifax
1783	Created baronet
1785-1788	Commodore and Commander-in-Chief in River Medway and at the Nore
1792	Second in command of the Channel Fleet under Viscount Hood

1793	Extra Commissioner on the Navy Board
1794	Deputy Comptroller of the Navy
Aug., 1794 to Feb., 1806	Comptroller of the Navy
1796-1806	Member of Parliament for Ipswich
1806	Retires
1828	Death

Heads of
The Life of Sir Andrew Snape Hamond,
Bart. written merely for the Private
Information of his own Family; as the
Narrative will shew; being of little
Interest to the world at large.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SIR ANDREW SNAPE HAMOND, BART.

For the Commencement of this Narrative it is necessary to state, that I was born in the Mansion House on my Mothers Estate, called the Limekilns, at Blackheath on the 17 December, 1738, under some extraordinairy circumstances; my Father Mr. Robert Hamond who was a merchant and ship owner in London, having married my Mother about a dozen or fourteen years before, and who was only daughter and heiress to Robert Snape Esq. of that Place, having had occasion for his commercial concerns, to mortgage the Estate, the Morgagee taking advantage of my Fathers absence, whose affairs had then called him out of England had endeavored by art and stratagem to obtain possession of the Premises; but my Mother, being an active clever and sensible woman, being apprized of the design, had prevented it. At length however force was made use of for the Purpose, but repelled by my Mother and her Servants for a considerable time, in the expectation of my Fathers return from abroad, and until she was confined to her Bed by my Birth, when forceable entry was made at the Roof of the House and possession gained.

This event was very humourously detailed in a periodical Publication of that time, as "A Fortress regularly besieged

and defended by a Heroine and a small Garrison, against an Army of Veterans."[1]

It appears that my Father soon after returned to England, and our Family consisting of three sisters, Lydia, Jane, and Bidia removed; first to Rotherhithe, and afterwards to Welldon Square; where my Father carried on his business of a merchant, and at the time of the ending of the war in 1749 I remember him to have been sole owner of 5 ships in different employments in the Merchant Service; and I have always heard that he was highly respected on the Royal Exchange.

Previous to this Period I was placed at an excellent school at West Ham, in Essex, under the Tuition of The Revd Dr. Walker, who took only 30 Boys. He was an excellent Man, a good scholar and well calculated for a school master; he had two Ushers, besides a French Master and his House in all respects was well regulated. With Dr. Walker I remained between three and four years, and until my poor Father, from the total loss of two of his ships, and the villainous conduct of one of his principal captains, who had taken a bribe, to let another ship take the cargoe designed for his, remained a whole season at Jamaica, doing nothing but incurring expenses, and letting the worms destroy the bottom of a large

Ship named the Beckford of 500 Tons, fell into misfortunes; from which, with all his Industry, he never could entirely extricate himself.

My Mother at this severe stroke of ill fortune, never for a moment allowed herself to sink under it, but immediately set about removing her Family to a small House at Stepney Causway; and having had an old aunt committed to her care, Mrs Isabella Snape who had an annuity upon the Eton Estate,[2] she contrived with small means, to make herself and Family, tho' living very retired, respected by the whole Neighbourhood.

At this time I was near 12 years old, and being of course taken from Dr. Walkers at West Ham, I went to a day school, or Academy as it was called, in the Neighbourhood kept by a Quaker, whose name was Suxspeach, who treated me with great kindness, and to whom I always considered myself as obliged, for a degree of deference he always shewed to me; and nothing gave me more pleasure than having an opportunity many years after, to be useful to one of his sons in the Navy.

What my Mother went through for the two years I stayed with her, to keep up my Fathers Spirits, and support the appearance of her Family, whilst he was settling his affairs,

is not to be described; but is most fresh in my Memory; I was her constant attendant and companion in all her tedious long walks on business, which she went through with a degree of fortitude and patience scarce to be conceived.

At length the time arrived for my entering on the Profession I had very early set my mind upon. My Family had long been intimate with Mr. Burley's, then Secretary to the Navy Board;[3] and through him my Father became acquainted with Captain James Webb,[4] a Post Captain[5] of some standing in the Navy. Who, being time of peace had sollicited the Admiralty for the command of one of the Six small sloops of war, which were built to assist the Revenue, in suppressing smuggling within the Channel. The one promised to Captain Webb was the Speedwell of 142 Tuns then building at Chatham Dockyard, and whenever he should be appointed, the Captain promised to receive me on board, and take me under his Protection.

Accordingly on the 14th February 1753 the Speedwell was launched and immediately put into Commission. Captain Webb whose Residence was at Plymouth had for some time kept a pleasure yacht of about 30 tons, Cutter Rigged, which at this time was laying at Deptford. A few days was taken to provide me with Sea Necessaries, together with Chest and Bedding, and

then, with my Father, I embarked on board this yacht at 12 Noon at Deptford; Sailed immediately down the River, and arrived at Chatham at 10 oclock the same Evening.

The Speedwell was riggd as a Ketch; had a compliment of 50 Men; no Lieutenants, but a Master,[6] with regular Warrant Officers, Except a Purser, the Provisions being in the charge of the Captain, a Masters Mate and one Midshipman. The Ship was soon fitted out, and having sailed down to the little Nore, had scarce time to put the ship to right, before she was ordered to proceed with all dispatch to Gotenburg; in consequence of Government having received information that the Swedes were fitting out an Expedition for some foreign Enterprise unknown to this Court.[7] As our arrival almost immediately followed another Sloop of War, the Peggy, who had been sent from her station at Yarmouth for the same purpose of gaining Intelligence, Captain Webb had not been twenty four hours in the city before orders were given to detain the Speedwell. But the English Minister, or rather Consul, having by some means obtained knowledge of their Intention, communicated the same to the Captain who had just time to escape to his Boat and get down to his Ship, before the Galleys could reach the anchorage. As I had been very ill from Sea Sickness

on the Passage over, Captain Webb had the good nature to take me up with him to Gotenburg to recruit me, which not only answered that purpose, but gave me an Opportunity of seeing the Town.

On our return to England the Sloop was Stationed between Beachy Head and Portland, and took several smugglers, in small Vessels, laden with Brandy and Tea. The whole coast at that time was chiefly supplied by them, as Brandy was brought in the French ports at Guersey and Jersey for eighteen Pence per Gallon, and Tea at 2 shillings or 1/2 a crown a pound. At that time no Penalties attached to the Smuggler except the loss of Vessel and Cargoe, if prosecuted to condemnation; but as the Captors or Custom House Officers seldom detained the Vessels, being of small value, the Smuggler gained a profit if he escaped once in three trips.[8]

In the autumn of 1753 the Speedwell was ordered to Plymouth to refit; after which, and being actually under weigh to return to her station, orders were received by Admiral Watsons[9] Boat, who then commanded at Plymouth, to proceed to Sea with Sealed orders; which on being opened at the distance prescribed, directed Captain Webb to proceed to Virginia, with Dispatches to Governor Dinwiddie,[10] then Lieutenant Governor of that Province.

Previous to our Sailing from Plymouth the Eddystone Light took fire and was burned to the Bottom; all the Guard-ships Boats were sent out with Engines but to no effect. It was a grand but melancholy sight, and as our Boats went with the rest I was present at the scene, and got there time enough to see the Crews and Boats take the two men off the Rock, one of which had as appeared afterwards actually swallowed some of the lead melted from the Lanthorn, and to see the Great Superstructure fall into the Sea, after exhibiting a regular column of Fire.[11]

Our passage to Virginia was about six weeks; arriving, as well as I recollect, about the middle of November.[12] But having no time to prepare for such a voyage, there were little or no fresh Provision on board; and had it not been for the kindness of Admiral Watson, when he sent the orders onboard for our immediate Sailing to the Westward, to put a few sheep and some Live Stock in the Boat for the Captain there litterally would not have been any, and as the Navy Provisions of that day were not in any degree what they have been of late years, as nothing was ever sold by the Victualling Board,[13] but what was actually condemned by Survey. The Provisions which had been returned from the Fleet at the end of the war of 1748/9 continued to be served to the Ships in Commission during the

whole of the Peace Establishment until the war of 1756; which certainly was a great error in Government, as it in no small degree contributed to the great mortality, nearly one third of the seamen died of the scurvy within six months that prevailed in Admiral Boscawen's[14] Fleet which sailed for North America at the breaking out of that war;[15] as well as to the disgust of the Seamen.

The Dispatches[16] to the Governor of Virginia related to the Information which the Ministry[17] had received from private Intelligence, "That the French were building a chain of Forts on the Back of our American colonies on the River Ohio, with the view of Establishing a direct Communication down the Mississippi to the Gulph of Florida, from Quebeck, contrary to the Treaties then existing";[18] and which censured the Virginia Government for not having Earlier apprized the Secretary of State, of such Encroachments being made. The fact turned out to be, when Mr. Dinwiddie the Lieutenant Governor assembled his Council, that the circumstance was perfectly unknown in Williamsburg,[19] the seat of Government, and measures were immediately determined upon for ascertaining whatever might have been done by the French, and the Governor Mr. Dinwiddie sent Mr. George Washington,[20] a young man then about one and twenty who had come to the seat of

Government from Alexandria to seek some civil employment, with the Command of 30 Militia Men, well armed, who proceeded into the Back Country with all possible dispatch, who in about 10, or 12 weeks, after a very perilous expedition returned to Williamsburg confirming all that the British Government had expected.[21]

The Speedwell which had been detained at Hampton for the Governors answer, was dispatched early in February of 1754, and arrived in England after a short passage with the dispatches.[22]

I mention these particulars as they mark two considerable events; one, that it gave the late celebrated General Washington his first Military Ideas;[23] the other, that it occasioned the 7 Years War,[24] as immediately on our return to England, the Expedition under General Braddock[25] and Commodore Keppel[26] was fitted out and sent to Virginia.

Another reason I might give, which is, that happening to be at Williamsburg with Captain Webb, I became acquainted with Mr. Washington and heard him relate all his dangers he had gone through both from the Indians and the French; and how narrowly he had escaped a snare that had been laid for preventing his ever returning to Williamsburg--with the Intelligence he had gained.[27]

After refitting at Plymouth we returned to our Station in the Channel, and was the whole of that summer actively employed against the Smugglers, and Captain Webb having bought a fast sailing Cutter about 40 Tons, in which a great part of my time was passed, I gained not only a knowledge of Seamanship, but became well acquainted with the Coast, from the Downes to Plymouth. However, in the Month of November, the Sloop was laid up for the winter at East Cowes; and the Captain having taken the House next to Cowes Castle for his Family, and allowed all the Ships Company, except about half a dozen, liberty to go where they pleased, or could get employment for 3 months; I availed myself of that opportunity to study Navigation under the Truition of the Master, Mr. Thomas Cosway [?], who at that time, before the Lunar Observations[28] were practised, was reckoned one of the most able Navigators in the Service, as well as a most active and thorough seaman. He was afterwards Admiral Sir Edward Hawke's Master in the Battle with Conflans,[29] and died Master attendant[30] at Deptford, whose death I sincerely lamented.

1755 About the end of February a General Press broke out;[31] and the first knowledge we had of it, was a party of 50 Men from the Guardships[32] at Portsmouth being put on board the Speedwell, with orders to press from all ships arriving

into the Channel, and putting an equal number of Kings Men in Lieu.[33] Without this supply of men we should not have been able to proceed to sea as not more than half of the Ships Company had returned; but in a fortnight after, the whole, with few exceptions returned, having more than 2 years pay due;[34] which very much releaved Captain Webb's mind, fearing to have been censured for his conduct in allowing the Ships Company to be absent; but at that time he had Coustom and precedent to plead in his favor; for it had been almost a general Practice in the Stationed Ships at home, to let the Ships Company be absent all the winter 6 Months; which became a perquisite of the value of the Provisions between the Captain and the Purser, in the Proportion of 2/3ds to the Captain and in many cases the Captain derived an Emolument from the wages; as the men were discharged by a Pay Ticket, signed indeed by the Signing Officers the same as the Ships Book, not payable at any certain time; so that the sailor generally sold his Ticket for 4 or 5 Shillings discount in the pound; and it was paid to whoever was in possession of the Ticket whenever the ship was ordered to be paid; which seldom happened under three or four years, and much often longer;[35] and this mode of Payment of the Navy was never altered until Mr. George Grenville's Act in 1759.[36]

Previous to our sailing from Cowes, I remember to have received a great Mortification and disappointment from Captain Webb; from whom I certainly had received great kindness and attention, but the circumstance was quite unexpected and most extremely inconvenient to me. He sent for me to his House, and after a little enquiry how things went on, respecting our preparation for Sea, He told me I had now been two years on the Books as Midshipman, which rating he had given me at my Friends desire from the beginning, that was as soon as we sailed from under the first Clerk of the checque[37] at Chatham, that he had ordered my Ticket to be made out, which I must assign over to his agent, and that it was now his intention to rate me Masters Mate for myself. I can hardly describe what I felt upon the occasion, as I had formed many plans for the disposal of this large sum of money, and had intended the very next day to ask him for my Ticket; but after a little Pause, and I believe a Tear, I recollected that it was to him alone I was to look for Protection in the Service, and therefore signed my name, for his benefit with a Good Grace.[38] It is, to this day, an astonishment to me, how I contrived to go on, with the trifling supply I could get from home, which however I never asked for but from sheer necessity; I lived entirely on board

the ship, and scarce ever spent a shilling that could have been avoided.

1755 During the summer we were employed most actively on the Imprest Service[39] and carried the New Raised men, sometimes to Portsmouth and at other times to Plymouth to supply the Men of War then fitting out rapidly at all the Ports, and towards the Autumn we received orders to proceed to Sea from Plymouth with secret orders, after about 3 days given for preparation. This proved to be a most pleasant excursion. It was to convey a dispatch to the British Ministers at Lisbon, also at Cadiz, Gibralter and most of the Ports in the Mediterrannean as high as Naples, which was performed in ten weeks; and which was for the purpose of preparing them to expect Hostilities, between us and the French, which really happened shortly after we had sailed, but without any declaration of war.[40]

Before we reached Gibralter on our return from Naples, we spoke one of our cruizers, who gave us the Information of the Hostilities, and falling in with a French Ship the next Day, with a valuable Cargo, which had formerly been the Hanover Packet, we made Prize of her, and left her at Gibralter; and she shared the same fate as all those Captures which were made, for above 8 Months, previous to the war being declared,

which did not happen until May 1756,[41] namely of no benefit to the Captor.

Captain Webb being an old Post Captain now solicited his Friends for a Ship of the Line, but whilst there was a chance of the Rupture blowing over, he did not like to give up the Emoluments of his Sloop.[42] In the month of July, 1756, he was appointed to the Sunderland of 60 Guns ordered to be fitted out at Plymouth.

We were then cruizing off Portland, when one of the King's Cutters joined us from Portsmouth with Captain Cornwall,[43] a Master and Commander,[44] to superceed Captain Webb, who in the same conveyance; after giving up the Command of the Speedwell in proper form to the new Captain, proceeded on to Plymouth to join the Sunderland. As it was intended that I was also to belong to that ship, I should have gone with him in the Cutter, but for the following reason, the want of officers for the Speedwell Sloop.

Unfortunately for Captain Cornwall, the Master, a Mr. Bissett, had leave to go to London to pass his Examination for a higher Rate, and he was not returned. No Lieutenant being allowed, myself as Masters Mate, was doing the duty both of Lieutenant and Master, as well as Pilot; and being only just turned 17,[45] Captain Cornwall was not a little alarmed

at his situation; and within an hour after the former Captain had left the Sloop, he took me into his cabbin; stated his History to me and told me that he would not have taken the command of the ship had not Captain Webb assured him that he might safely rely on my ability to do the duty of Lieutenant as well as Master, and from the knowledge I had of the coast he needed be in no apprehension in the want of a Pilot. And I having also assured him that he might safely confide in my best endeavors to render him every assistance in my power, he would now tell me how tottally incapable he was of acting as captain, without that assistance from me, which he hoped I would afford him.

The Particulars of his History was "that a Relation of his in the last war, Captain Cornwall of the Marlbro', had borne his name on his Ships Book for several years, and having joined his ship in the Mediterranean only a year before the Fleet was ordered home at the Peace of 1749, his Relation obtained a Lieutenant's Commission for him from the Admiral, as a token of his regard for memory of his uncle who had been killed in battle on the Marlbro',[46] That instead of Coming home in the ship, he had remained for some time in Italy before he came to England, and since that period he had lived in the Interior of the Country and never set his foot on

board Ship 'till' he embarked on board the Cutter to come to the Speedwell. He had therefore everything to learn, almost as much as if he had never been at sea".

Under these circumstances we soon became well acquainted with each other, and finding him a most amiable, pleasant and well educated young man, we formed a strict friendship for each other, which lasted to the time of his death, which happened not 'till' many years later.

In the course of the three months I remained in the Sloop with him, we took two small French Privatiers and retook two merchant vessels. I then proceeded to Plymouth to join the Sunderland, under my old Captain, Webb, which Ship I found just coming out of dock, after a thorough repair.

1756 It is here necessary to mention the state of the Navy at that time with respect to Lieutenants and Masters. The Seven or rather eight years of Peace, with only a retainer of 2 Shillings a day half pay for the former and only a small provision for about 30 of the latter, had occasioned the greatest part of the whole, to provide for themselves in the Merchant Service at sea, or in other situations; insomuch that when this war broke out not above one third of the Navy could obtain their Compliment of Officers, and some hundred Lieutenants were passed and made, who had not nearly served

their time in the Navy; but it was allowed to be made up by East India or other merchant Ships time.

The Sunderland felt this Inconvenience particularly, and did not obtain her Compliment of Officers for upwards of 4 Months. Two Lieutenants the first and second, were however named, but were both in the North of Scotland; neither of which joined the Ship for two months, nor had we any Master until after that period, by which time, under the direction of Captain Webb, who resided with his Family at Plympton and came about twice a week to see how our Equipment went on, the ship was compleatly rigged the hold stowed and Cables on board, by my own exertion as Masters Mate, with the assistance of borrowed men from other ships in the Harbour, who were in greater forwardness than ourselves. No Establishment or Contract for Riggers[47] existed at that time.

1757 As this Ship was destined to form part of the Fleet for North America, under the Command of Admiral Holbourn,[48] Captain Webb changed into the Saint Albans of 80 guns then at Portsmouth bound to the Mediterranean Station, and took me with him, by an Application to the Admiralty for that purpose; Captain Mackenzie,[49] the new Captain, having refused to let me go without: and made me handsome promises if I would stay with him.

The St. Albans took out the Mediterrannean Convoy from Spithead, and also from Cork, where we stayed ten days, which gave me an opportunity of seeing the City of Cork and its Invirons, and also Admiral Holbourns Fleet, with 2 Flags[50] and 18 Sail of the Line and 6 Frigates and Fireships, which was the first Fleet I had ever seen assembled.[51]

Our voyage to Gibralter was short and there joined the Fleet under Admiral Osborn[52] and Saunders,[53] consisting of 18 Sail of the Line, and soon after sailed up the Mediterrannean to the Blockade of the French Fleet at Toulon,[54] when after 8 or 9 weeks Cruizing the Fleet went into Cagliari Bay in the S E of Sardinia to water, and left the St. Albans to cruize between that Island and the Barbury shore until relieved.

The next day brought on an Event; happening to be heaving the Logg off the Poop, I discovered a Sail, which had not been noticed from the look out at the masthead. The Captain on my information immediately gave chase, and after a long run came up with it, and found it to be a large French Polacre[55] laden with wool, beeswax, etc. As this was our first prize, and being discovered by myself, I was made Prize Master and received orders to make the best of my way to Leghorn, and deliver the Ship to Mr. Dick,[56] the British Consul, afterwards Sir John Dick. My Compliment was a Midshipman, 8 Seaman and myself.

The crew being shifted, the St. Albans went in chase of another Vessel and was soon out of sight, when standing to the Southward, the wind being Easterly and flowing fresh, I stood under the Island Galita, where I expected to get smooth water and have an opportunity of putting the Vessel to rights and making the Seamen acquainted with the particular mode of the Polacre Rigging, which of course was new to us all, but what was my surprise when on opening the Island I saw there, an armed Kebeck,[57] which hoisted Algerine Colours, and was in the act of getting under way to speak to me. To escape from them was impossible, I therefore thought it best to put on a good face on the circumstance and therefore shortened sail and ran under her stern, and told the Captain that I was a Prize to the Ship he might have seen in the Morning, which was an English Man of War; who had gone to speak with another Vessel, but was afterwards to return to this anchorage. He sent his boat on board, and finding I had not deceived him in regard to the Vessel, and not chusing to encounter the Man of War, he got under way immediately and took a course so as not to meet her. And glad I was to excape being Plundered, if not made a Prize of, Having no Mediterrannean Pass.[58]

In the night the wind gave me a Start so that in the Morning I found myself off the opening of the Bay of Cagliari, to which place I intended to proceed in hopes of getting a convoy, or some protection from the Admiral on my Passage to Leghorn. The weather was remarkably fine, and we were near enough in, by 7 in the Morning, to discover the mastheads of the Fleet from the Deck, when we perceived a Lattine Vessel coming out rowing and sailing. As she approached us fast, and having no colours up, we began to consider how far it was possible; as Cagliari was a neutral port, she might be an Enemy. We therefore began to prepare our four three pounders, all our force, which must have made a feeble resistance had she attacked us, as we soon perceived she was full of men and was coming down to reconoitre us, and little doubt remained of her being a French Privatier.

At this moment it struck me of its being possible, as for everything about the Polacre must appear as still French, and the Privateer by dressing ourselves in the old cloathes we found left on board; accordingly I put on a red fur Cap and an old Grego,[60] the men followed my Example and walked carelessly about the deck not seeming to take any notice of the Cruizer; this stratagem had the desired effect; for after coming within Musket Shot, to our great joy and surprize, he

he changed his course and gave chase to a Sail in another quarter.

The next day the same French Privatier came into Cagliari, and I met the French Captain ashore at the Pratique House;[61] who told me that he had, only 2 days before our Capture, been on board our Polacre, who was then beating to the westward with contrary Winds; that the captain had been very civil to him and made him some presents; and not having the least suspicion of her being in English hands, seeing the captain in the very same dress he wore when he last saw him, he was unwilling to give him any further trouble, and therefore gave chase to another vessel which he found to be a Ragusan.[62]

This was indeed a very narrow escape from becoming a French Prisoner, and it had another good effect, by causing Admiral Osborn to give me an order not to move out of the Bay until he could give me a convoy to Leghorn.

As our prize had come from the Levant, we were confined in Quarantine which prevented me from seeing the Town of Cagliari, which is very large and by being built upon the side of a Hill ascending from the water, has a most noble and beautiful appearance.

In the course of a week the Ambuscade Frigate Captain Gwyn[63] was ordered to give me and some other vessels going that way, convoy to Leghorn[64]--The Wind being westerly we soon passed through the small islands Planosa, Stromboli, &c., and fetched into the Bocca of Piombina between the Island of Elba and the main land, which is a channel not more than 8 or 9 miles broad, with a Current always running to the S. Eastward. Captain Gwyn persevered against the westerly wind for two days without making much way, and then bore away and went round the south side of Elba and in less than 30 hours we anchored in the Road at Leghorn.

Next day I saw the agent Mr. Dick, who gave me orders to come into the Mole to perform Quarantine, agreable to the Regulations of the port, first putting the cargo into Lighters, which were sent off to us in the Road, and brought two Men as Guards, who remained with us the whole time of the Quarantine which lasted 40 days--and a most tedious manner of passing so long a period, I well remembered to have found it.

A fortnight after my arrival another Prize to the St. Albans came in, commanded by the 2d Lieutenant Lower. She was from Smyrna, and tolerably richly laden. These two Prizes, which were the first carried into that Port in the 7 Years

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T. C. Johnson
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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY
OF CAPTAIN SIR ANDREW SNAPE HAMOND., BART., R. N.,
1738 - 1828,
covering the years 1738-1793

W. Hugh Moomaw

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate
Faculty of the University of Virginia in
Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Corcoran Department of History
University of Virginia
1953

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PREFACE

In 1939 the Tracy W. McGregor Library of the University of Virginia purchased at public auction some of the papers of Captain Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, R. N., Baronet, 1738-1828. Included in these papers were his autobiography, his account of the American Revolutionary War, 1775-1777, journals kept while commanding various ships in American waters, and some of his letter and order books covering intermittently the years 1771 to 1782.

The editing of Hamond's autobiography, covering the years 1738 to 1793, has been undertaken with the object of generally correlating his life and the events through which he passed to the broad outline of British history in general, and in particular, to the eighteenth century Royal Navy and its operations during the American Revolutionary War. In order to present an adequate commentary on the autobiography, which was written not before Hamond's seventy-seventh year in 1815,[1] supplementary material has been extracted from his

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1. For an account of the determination of this date, see note 306.

letters, orders, and account of the American Revolutionary War, a contemporaneous writing containing some points of important detail omitted from the autobiography. Hamond wrote at an advanced age when his memory was quite naturally apt to err over certain details, such as exact dates and the size of fleets. On these matters the leading authorities have been cited. However, to clarify such subjects, for example, as the route of the 1777 expedition to Philadelphia, as Hamond's testimony defending Admiral Howe at the 1779 Parliamentary inquiry, and as the operations leading up to the capture of Charleston in 1780, some original materials have been consulted in order to emphasize and delineate the importance of the fresh information and interpretation that Hamond has revealed in his various writings.

The autobiography was written in two, green, paper-bound unlined composition books, measuring six by eight inches, and containing one hundred and seventy-three manuscript pages. The account of the American Revolutionary War was written in three similar, red books, but only four by seven inches, and containing only about one hundred and fifty pages.

The manuscripts are very legible. They are rendered without change or modernization with the exception of a number of abbreviations given below, which have been silently expanded. Hamond himself did not follow any rule of abbreviation,

generally practising it only at the end of a line, apparently for the sake of convenience.

abt	for	about	Meditern	for	Mediterranean
acct		account	mercht		merchant
Adml		admiral	Midn		midshipman
betwn		between	Monsr		monsieur
Br.		brigadier	Pdns		pounders
Capt		captain	pendts		pendants
Commissn		commission	prisr		prisoner
Como		commodore	secy		secretary
complimt		complement	shgs		shillings
Genl		general	supern		supernumerary
Govr		governor	wart		warrant
Honble		honorable	wch		which
Mastr		master	witht		without

I am indebted to many for aid in the preparation of this thesis, especially to Professor T. C. Johnson who, in directing my efforts, provided a constant challenge to produce the best. I also express my appreciation to Professor A. D. Fraser for his close attention to the nautical details of the manuscript, to Mr. Francis L. Berkeley, Jr. for locating further Hamond manuscripts in England, and to Mr. J. C. Wyllie and the staff of the McGregor Library for their assistance.

INTRODUCTION

In the course of naval history the outstanding commanders and the famous battles, which have influenced decisively the pattern of a whole war, tend to receive an over-abundance of attention. Admiral Hawke's victory at Quiberon Bay during the Seven Years War is an instance of this. Yet the study of the lesser men and the minor operations is also valuable, as it is indicative of the conditions existing behind the vaunted first line of defense. In essence Captain Andrew Snape Hamond's autobiography is such an example. Although he took part in the battle at Quiberon Bay in 1759, and in several of the larger combined operations of the American Revolutionary War, he was primarily concerned with small squadrons, small ships, and generally the independent command of them.

Hamond himself is a figure who so far has undeservedly remained relatively obscure,[1] being chiefly recognized as

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1. J. K. Laughton has written a short sketch of Hamond in the Dictionary of National Biography. There is also a fuller sketch of his life in John Marshall's Royal Naval Biography, London, 1823, II, 54 ff., and he is briefly mentioned in the leading military and naval memoirs of his day. There is a long and laudatory obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine, May, 1828.

possessing a "fine record of river warfare fame".[2] He narrates here his life up to his fifty-fifth year in 1793 when, giving up active sea duty on account of sickness, he went to the Navy Board where he held the Comptrollership from 1794 to 1806. It is said that he remained in that office, one of the most important of that board, only at the special request of William Pitt, retiring only upon the Prime Minister's death.[3]

The major part of Hamond's autobiography is concerned with his activities in the American Revolutionary War, and is especially valuable for his description of the naval operations off the Virginia coast in 1776, the expedition up the Delaware River in 1777, and the capture of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1780. This autobiography comes to light at a time when increased emphasis is being laid on the activities and reactions of the second rank of naval officers, and it is a substantial addition to the somewhat limited number of original British accounts of the American Revolutionary War.

Little has come to light of the family background of the Hamonds, of Blackheath, Kent. Captain Hamond's grandfather was Samuel Hamond, who died in 1715, leaving a daughter and

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2. W. M. James, The British Navy in Adversity, London, 1926, p. 5.

3. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1828, XCVIII, 556.

a son, Robert, born in 1694. Robert Hamond was a merchant and shipowner of some standing in London (page 2), and around 1732, he married Susanna Snape, the only daughter of Robert Snape, Esq., brother of Andrew Snape, D. D. Captain Andrew Snape Hamond was named after this uncle of his, who was also his godfather. Andrew Snape, the most prominent of his family, was chaplain in ordinary to Queen Anne, and to George I until 1717 when, as a principal disputant, he attacked Bishop Hoadly in the Bangorian theological controversy over the temporal authority of the church. He was Headmaster of Eton for several years from 1711, and in 1719, he became Provost of King's College, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor of that University from 1723 to 1724.[4]

Hamond's naval career may be regarded in many respects as typical of that of the eighteenth century naval officer. In this period, perhaps the majority of sea officers came from "the middling walks of life".[5] These officers could not count on any great social prestige aiding their careers, and unless the "interest" and backing of some naval patron were

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4. J. B. Burke, Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire, London, 1859; Article in the Dictionary of National Biography on Andrew Snape by Thompson Cooper.

5. Michael Lewis, The Navy of Britain, London, 1948, p. 283.

secured, there would be little chance of winning an admiral's flag.

Hamond's entry into the navy was provided through the mercantile activities of his father, and the resulting contact with the Secretary of the Navy Board, as Hamond terms the Clerk of the Acts, meant that he would not have to fight his way up to the quarter-deck through the forecastle, which indeed was rarely done with Admiral Earl St. Vincent being a notable exception (see note 149). But this first backing was alone not enough to push him up the promotion ladder, as he points out on page 25. Something more was needed to insure the success that Hamond came to enjoy. In order for men from "the middling walks of life" to reach the quarter-deck at a young enough age to make higher promotion possible, it became necessary for them to impress their superior officers by sheer ability and efficiency. Hamond was to do just this in a dramatic experience which gained him the support of Admiral Hawke, and Hamond himself recognized that this event "laid the foundation of all my future prosperity in life" (page 26). His subsequent career was aided by the successive interest and backing of John, fourth Earl of Sandwich; His Royal Highness, Edward, Duke of York, younger brother to George III; and Admiral Earl Richard Howe.

There is no indication in Hamond's writings that reveals the reason for his failure to attain flag rank, especially since his last command at sea, as second in command of the Channel Fleet under Admiral Viscount Hood in 1792 was clearly in preparation for higher advancement (pages 137-138). In the normal course of events Hamond would have been promoted to rear-admiral in the general promotion of April, 1794, at which time the three Colonels of Marines of 1793 were raised directly to Rear-Admirals of the White.[6] It was intended, says Hamond (page 140), that he was to be given one of these Colonelcies in 1793.

Yet service at the Navy Board did not preclude advancement to flag rank,[7] for indeed Captain Sir T. B. Thompson, one of Hamond's immediate successors with less seniority, was promoted to rear and then vice-admiral while holding the Comptrollership.[8] It is possible, therefore, that Hamond's knighthood and baronetcy were regarded as suitable recognition

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6. W. L. Clowes, The Royal Navy, London, 1898, IV, 192.

7. G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owen, editors, The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich, 1771-1782, London, 1932-1938, IV, 373.

8. Clowes, op. cit., V, 4, 41.

along with his acceptance into higher social circles.[9] On the other hand he might possibly have antagonized some member of the Admiralty Board.

Hamond entered the Navy in 1753, at a time when the service was in the most capable hands of Lord George Anson, who, as First Lord of the Admiralty from 1751 to 1762 excepting a few months in 1756-1757, effected many sweeping changes and reforms that brought to life a navy formerly laden with moribund admirals and captains, and lethargic under the control of nepotistic politicans who had long held sway at the Admiralty and Navy Boards. Hamond does not once mention Anson. This is perhaps significant, for despite the debt that the country owed the First Lord for the rebirth of the Navy, his general mien was not admired by many of his contemporaries, including Horace Walpole and Smollett.[10]

One of the most needed personnel changes was made in 1747. The old system of promotion to flag rank was based on selection from the captain's list; in the future it was to be based on seniority, with the unwanted or unfit captains being provided for by promotion to the flag list on half pay. By

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9. R. J. E. Auckland, editor, Journals and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland, London, 1861, I, 362, II, 211.

10. D. Hannay, Short History of the Royal Navy, London, 1909, II, 118.

failing to specify the color of the squadron to which they were promoted these men technically were without "posts" or commands. This was the famous Yellow Squadron.[11] The way was thus cleared for the advancement of the younger and more able men attracted by the opportunities offered by the War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years War, and the American Revolutionary War. The number of admirals increased, from the original nine[12], to twenty in 1748, to thirty-seven in 1765, and to fifty-seven in 1783.[13]

Anson effected many changes which bore good fruit during the years covered by Hamond's service. He revised the old system of naval construction by initiating the movement to replace the old 64-gun ships in the line of battle by 74-gun

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11. Admiral Sir H. W. Richmond, "The Navy", in Johnson's England, edited by A. S. Turberville, Oxford, 1933, I, 62.

12. There were nine admirals because in the Dutch Wars of the seventeenth century the fleet was divided into three squadrons: the White, the Red, and the Blue, which were the Van, the Center, and the Rear respectively. Each squadron was further divided into a Van, Center, and Rear. Thus there were nine commands of "posts", from the Admiral of the Fleet, actually Admiral of the Red Squadron, through the three vice-admirals commanding the respective vans, to the rear-admirals commanding the rear divisions. The lowest post was the Rear-Admiral of the Blue. The great increase of flag officers had the effect of turning these nine posts into ranks in the modern sense. (Lewis, op. cit., 267-268).

13. Richmond, loc. cit., 63.

ships, by constructing genuine frigates built for speed and armed with 36 twelve-pounders (note 164), and by introducing a logical system of classifying the ships of the Navy into rates (note 386). The dockyards were considerably improved and the whole service was rejuvenated. In 1748, the first steps were taken to provide the officers with uniforms, which did much to create some _esprit de corps_, while, in 1755, the marines were put on their modern footing under Admiralty control.[14] A magnificent roster of senior and junior officers stood behind Pitt and Anson: Hawke, Boscawen, and Saunders commanded fleets, while Rodney, Howe, Keppel, Hood and Jervis captained ships. Yet the Treaty of Paris, 1763, was to achieve what England's enemies could not, for, under the subsequent peace-time demand for economy, this great fighting force rapidly deteriorated both in quality and quantity.

The decrease in the monies voted by Parliament for the Royal Navy after 1763 was in line with the general pattern of the eighteenth century, for after each of the three major wars of the century, "the false economy of not spending when it was needed"[15] held sway. In addition, the country did not obtain

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14. Lewis, _op. cit._, 373; Clowes, _op. cit._, III, 7 ff.

15. Richmond, _loc. cit._, 40.

true value for what money was spent. In connection with this parsimonious philosophy, politicians again succeeded to the First Lordship of the Admiralty, which represented in commission the Lord High Admiral. From late 1762 they ruled supreme until March, 1782, with the exception of the four years of Admirals Hawke and Saunders.[16] Corruption and mismangement soon exacted their toll among the personnel as well as among the ships.

John, Earl of Sandwich, became First Lord in 1771, and although British naval weakness in the American Revolutionary War has been generally laid on his "administrative negligence and political intrigues",[17] yet he steadfastly opposed the economies that were forced on him. Even the sharp pen of Horace Walpole records that:

> His passion for maritime affairs, his activity, industry, and flowing complaisance, endeared him to the profession, re-established the marine, and effaced great part of his unpopularity. No man in the Administration was so much master of business, so quick or so shrewd ...[18]

Yet even had there been faultless management after 1771, the situation would still have been critical.

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16. See Appendix A.

17. G. S. Graham, Empire of the North Atlantic, Toronto, 1950, p. 198.

18. Horace Walpole, Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third, edited by D. Le Marchant, London, 1845, IV, 257.

> The unpardonable fault ... lay in the neglect of the navy during many years since 1763 and the condition of impotence to which it had been reduced which made it impossible ... to fit out effective ships or, when fitted, to man them.[19]

In addition to criticism of naval mis-management, there were also criticisms of the general war policy followed by the British government. Secretary-at-War Barrington's plan to blockade the revolting colonies into partial submission was brushed aside by the policy predicated upon the suppression of the rebellion by military force. Thus the navy was reduced to the functions of conveying and supplying the British army in America, stopping American commerce (page 61), and protecting British trade.[20] There were insufficient small cruisers to do this, and Hamond's communications to Admiral Shuldham (note 161), commanding the North American station in early 1776, are full of requests for additional vessels.[21]

French intervention in 1778 forced a change of British strategy, as Hamond points out (page 87). British naval weak-

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19. H. W. Richmond, Statesmen and Sea Power, Oxford, 1946, p. 149.

20. Ibid., 146-147.

21. Hamond to Shuldham, 3 March, 1776, Roebuck's Letter Book, Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia. Also, Despatches of Molyneux Shuldham, edited by R. W. Neeser, New York, 1913, pp. 143 ff.

ness, however, meant that the British Grand Fleet under Admiral Keppel was unable to defeat the French at Ushant, July, 1778, before the Spanish joined the latter. At that time Hamond was not high enough on the naval ladder to be a party in the resulting Keppel-Palliser feud (page 99) and he reveals his impartial naval professionalism by denouncing the Whig Keppel, who had refused to serve against the Americans, when he largely owed his career to the Whiggish Admiral Howe.

Hamond was to express his view of the strategy of the later stages of the American Revolutionary War when he wrote, on November 20, 1779, to William Eden, later Lord Auckland (page 86) pointing out to him, as a minister:

> the absurdity of having a great army in one part of the world and a considerable Fleet in another. Was this army with the West India fleet, or that Fleet with this army, what may not 25 thousand fighting men effect?[22]

The Hamond autobiography brings to light a new revelation concerning the strategy of the British expedition to Pennsylvania in 1777. What Hamond reveals below (pages 72-74, and notes 219, 220) must be viewed against the 1779 Parliamentary inquiry into the Howes' conduct of the American Revolutionary

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22. "Roebuck off New York", B. F. Stevens, comp., Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783, p. 1033.

War, when Hamond, naturally under Admiral Howe's influence (page 98) gave testimony that supported the Howe brothers. This was over the change of the route of the expedition from the Delaware to Chesapeake Bay.

Hamond's plan for a safe landing up the Delaware River, which he presented to the Howes, but which he opposed at the Parliamentary inquiry, possessed much strategic and tactical acumen. Had it been followed, it is quite probable that General Howe would not have been forced to write to Secretary of State Germain on August 30, 1777, from the head of Elk in Chesapeake Bay, that he "cannot hope to co-operate with the northern army".[23] The strategy involved in the change of destination to the Chesapeake Bay was of the deepest significance, for if the British army had been landed up the Delaware, its passage, when needed to assist General Burgoyne and the northern army, would have been comparatively straightforward. On the other hand, for the army to move northward from the Chesapeake would have involved the passage of Philadelphia and the crossing of the Delaware River, without naval assistance, and the transit would have been full of delays.[24]

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23. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, Hereford, 1910, II, 74.

24. T. S. Anderson, The Command of the Howe Brothers during the American Revolution, Oxford, 1936, p. 280.

Thus, in July, 1777, when the British fleet temporarily stood into Delaware Bay, Hamond vigorously championed the cause of an immediate landing. General Howe, apparently, was opposed to this (note 221). Two years were to pass before the Parliamentary inquiry took place, and by that time it was quite natural that Hamond, holding Admiral Howe in high repute, should reverse his stand on the question of the route of the expedition. In supporting the move to Chesapeake Bay, Hamond thus greatly contributed to the defense of the Admiral's career and reputation from the calumnious attacks of the Tory pamphleteers.

Hamond's plan, revealed here for the first time, has a definite place in American historiography. His testimony, defending the Howes from their attackers, has been used and paraphrased, from its original publication in Debrett's Parliamentary Register (XIV, 33-51), by historians from Charles Stedman in 1794,[25] to H. B. Carrington in 1880,[26] to Christopher Ward in 1952.[27] They have used Hamond's testimony either to

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25. History of the American War, London, 1794, I, 290.

26. Battles of the American Revolution, New York, 1880, pp. 364 ff.

27. The War of the Revolution, New York, 1952, I, 331-332.

show that a Delaware landing was unwise, or that the Howes were led to go to the Chesapeake on account of Hamond's intelligence which, until this appearance of his papers, was presumed to be that given at the inquiry.[28] Yet, as Hamond points out (note 319), he did not reveal at the inquiry the full information regarding the change of destination, and thus his testimony brought one historian to conclude that "he proved a most inconclusive witness".[29]

Hamond's information, therefore, opens the way for another evaluation of British strategy in 1777 and the conduct of the Howes during the Pennsylvania expedition.

By early 1779 the situation appeared very gloomy for the hard pressed Royal Navy. Horace Walpole wrote that:

> The whole nation proclaimed it impossible for the King to preserve Sandwich at the head of the Admiralty. It was thought that most of the commanders of the fleet would refuse to serve under him ....[30]

Yet despite the general corruption emanating from a system of divided control and responsibility between the Admiralty and Navy Boards, the nadir had been reached. An efficient First Lord of the Admiralty rarely held office concurrently

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28. J. B. Fortescue, in his History of the British Army, London, III, 214, and James, op. cit., 64, both state that naval advice, presumably that of Hamond, who was in command of the Delaware River squadron, dissuaded General Howe from going up the Delaware. See note 222.

29. W. C. Ford, "Parliament and the Howes", in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1911, XLIV, 137.

30. Last Journals of Horace Walpole, edited by J. Doran, London, 1859, II, 339.

with an efficient Comptroller of the Navy Board. "When one was good, the other was almost always bad."[31] The loss of the American colonies can be partly accounted for by the combination of a weak Admiralty with a weak Navy Board. In 1779, Sandwich nominated Sir Charles Middleton, later Lord Barham (note 309), to be Comptroller of the Navy Board.[32] From 1779 to 1790 Middleton, while renovating the Navy Board, played a great part in prodding the Admiralty into greater efficiency. He was quite openly outspoken about Sandwich's conduct. In a letter to the First Lord in January, 1781, he wrote that:

> Had you followed the disinterested advice I gave as to men and measures you would have had little opposition to contend with in the fleet now. The factious dispositions that have gained strength from your political system would have been crushed, and your situation as firm as a rock at that time. Your Lordship, however, prefers the shadows to the substance. You are used to men of a ductile cast ....[33]

At this time, and until the general reorganization of 1832, the Admiralty Board exercised the executive and military

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31. Lewis, op. cit., 375.

32. Sandwich Papers, IV, 371.

33. Ibid., IV, 374-375.

functions of the Royal Navy, while the Navy Board performed the civil and administrative services. This system was the result of changes inaugurated by James, Duke of York, and Samuel Pepys in the years 1660 to 1673. The Admiralty Board consisted of the Lords Commissioners and a secretary, and it

> shaped naval policy of the government, generally under the direction of the King, as expressed in orders in Council ... controlled the movement of ships ... and kept watch upon the execution of its orders .... It made appointments and signed warrants ... drafted memorials and representations to the Privy Council and the Treasury.[34]

The Navy Board, originally created by Henry VIII to administer the civil business of the navy, had four Principal Officers: The Comptroller, the Treasurer, the Surveyor, and the Clerk of the Acts. There were also a great number of lesser boards and offices, such as the Transport Office, the Victualling Board, the Board of Longitude--in all some seventeen separate parts in 1782.

> The Navy Board
>
> had direct charge of the management of the Navy. It built, equipped, and repaired the ships, fitted them for sea and paid the bills; it re-

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34. C. M. Andrews, Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783 in the Public Record Office of Great Britain, Washington, 1914, II, 3. His introduction contains the best summary of the Royal Navy's administrative organization.

> ported on their general condition, prepared estimates ... and looked after the building of docks and yards .... It was held responsible for all seamen and employees, who were not ranked as fighting men, for all contracts connected with the building, repairing, or stocking the ships of the navy.[35]

Middleton held the Comptrollership for eleven years, and when he left the Navy Board he had done much to put the Royal Navy on a firmer foundation to meet the threat from revolutionary France. Hamond, Comptroller from 1794 to 1806, had naturally less opportunity to broaden his reputation in following such a great man. Middleton had done his work well, and the spotlight shifted to the Earl St. Vincent and then to Middleton again, as Lord Barham, each of whom, as successive First Lords, naturally overshadowed Comptroller Hamond. Then, too, there was William Pitt. So it was doubly unfortunate that sickness forced Hamond to give up active duty in 1793, and at the same time to close his autobiography.

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35. Ibid., II, 4.

OUTLINE OF CAPTAIN HAMOND'S CAREER

1738	Born
1753	Enters the Navy as midshipman
1755	Rated master's mate
1758	Passes lieutenant's examinations
1759	Commissioned as lieutenant on the Magnanime, 74.
1763	Commands the cutter Grace
1765	Promoted master and commander on half pay
1767-1769	Commands the sloop Savage off Ireland and Newfoundland
1770	Commands the Barfleur, 90, Admiral Howe's flagship
1771-1773	Commands the Arethusa, 32, on the North American station
1773-1775	Unemployed
July, 1775 to May, 1780	Commands the Roebuck, 44, on the North American station
1778	Knighted
1780-1782	Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and Commissioner of the navy at Halifax
1783	Created baronet
1785-1788	Commodore and Commander-in-Chief in River Medway and at the Nore
1792	Second in command of the Channel Fleet under Viscount Hood

1793	Extra Commissioner on the Navy Board
1794	Deputy Comptroller of the Navy
Aug., 1794 to Feb., 1806	Comptroller of the Navy
1796-1806	Member of Parliament for Ipswich
1806	Retires
1828	Death

Heads of
The Life of Sir Andrew Snape Hamond,
Bart. written merely for the Private
Information of his own Family; as the
Narrative will shew; being of little
Interest to the world at large.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SIR ANDREW SNAPE HAMOND, BART.

For the Commencement of this Narrative it is necessary to state, that I was born in the Mansion House on my Mothers Estate, called the Limekilns, at Blackheath on the 17 December, 1738, under some extraordinairy circumstances; my Father Mr. Robert Hamond who was a merchant and ship owner in London, having married my Mother about a dozen or fourteen years before, and who was only daughter and heiress to Robert Snape Esq. of that Place, having had occasion for his commercial concerns, to mortgage the Estate, the Morgagee taking advantage of my Fathers absence, whose affairs had then called him out of England had endeavored by art and stratagem to obtain possession of the Premises; but my Mother, being an active clever and sensible woman, being apprized of the design, had prevented it. At length however force was made use of for the Purpose, but repelled by my Mother and her Servants for a considerable time, in the expectation of my Fathers return from abroad, and until she was confined to her Bed by my Birth, when forceable entry was made at the Roof of the House and possession gained.

This event was very humourously detailed in a periodical Publication of that time, as "A Fortress regularly besieged

and defended by a Heroine and a small Garrison, against an Army of Veterans."[1]

It appears that my Father soon after returned to England, and our Family consisting of three sisters, Lydia, Jane, and Bidia removed; first to Rotherhithe, and afterwards to Welldon Square; where my Father carried on his business of a merchant, and at the time of the ending of the war in 1749 I remember him to have been sole owner of 5 ships in different employments in the Merchant Service; and I have always heard that he was highly respected on the Royal Exchange.

Previous to this Period I was placed at an excellent school at West Ham, in Essex, under the Tuition of The Revd Dr. Walker, who took only 30 Boys. He was an excellent Man, a good scholar and well calculated for a school master; he had two Ushers, besides a French Master and his House in all respects was well regulated. With Dr. Walker I remained between three and four years, and until my poor Father, from the total loss of two of his ships, and the villainous conduct of one of his principal captains, who had taken a bribe, to let another ship take the cargoe designed for his, remained a whole season at Jamaica, doing nothing but incurring expenses, and letting the worms destroy the bottom of a large

Ship named the Beckford of 500 Tons, fell into misfortunes; from which, with all his Industry, he never could entirely extricate himself.

My Mother at this severe stroke of ill fortune, never for a moment allowed herself to sink under it, but immediately set about removing her Family to a small House at Stepney Causway; and having had an old aunt committed to her care, Mrs Isabella Snape who had an annuity upon the Eton Estate,[2] she contrived with small means, to make herself and Family, tho' living very retired, respected by the whole Neighbourhood.

At this time I was near 12 years old, and being of course taken from Dr. Walkers at West Ham, I went to a day school, or Academy as it was called, in the Neighbourhood kept by a Quaker, whose name was Suxspeach, who treated me with great kindness, and to whom I always considered myself as obliged, for a degree of deference he always shewed to me; and nothing gave me more pleasure than having an opportunity many years after, to be useful to one of his sons in the Navy.

What my Mother went through for the two years I stayed with her, to keep up my Fathers Spirits, and support the appearance of her Family, whilst he was settling his affairs,

is not to be described; but is most fresh in my Memory; I was her constant attendant and companion in all her tedious long walks on business, which she went through with a degree of fortitude and patience scarce to be conceived.

At length the time arrived for my entering on the Profession I had very early set my mind upon. My Family had long been intimate with Mr. Burley's, then Secretary to the Navy Board;[3] and through him my Father became acquainted with Captain James Webb,[4] a Post Captain[5] of some standing in the Navy. Who, being time of peace had sollicited the Admiralty for the command of one of the Six small sloops of war, which were built to assist the Revenue, in suppressing smuggling within the Channel. The one promised to Captain Webb was the Speedwell of 142 Tuns then building at Chatham Dockyard, and whenever he should be appointed, the Captain promised to receive me on board, and take me under his Protection.

Accordingly on the 14th February 1753 the Speedwell was launched and immediately put into Commission. Captain Webb whose Residence was at Plymouth had for some time kept a pleasure yacht of about 30 tons, Cutter Rigged, which at this time was laying at Deptford. A few days was taken to provide me with Sea Necessaries, together with Chest and Bedding, and

then, with my Father, I embarked on board this yacht at 12 Noon at Deptford; Sailed immediately down the River, and arrived at Chatham at 10 oclock the same Evening.

The Speedwell was riggd as a Ketch; had a compliment of 50 Men; no Lieutenants, but a Master,[6] with regular Warrant Officers, Except a Purser, the Provisions being in the charge of the Captain, a Masters Mate and one Midshipman. The Ship was soon fitted out, and having sailed down to the little Nore, had scarce time to put the ship to right, before she was ordered to proceed with all dispatch to Gotenburg; in consequence of Government having received information that the Swedes were fitting out an Expedition for some foreign Enterprise unknown to this Court.[7] As our arrival almost immediately followed another Sloop of War, the Peggy, who had been sent from her station at Yarmouth for the same purpose of gaining Intelligence, Captain Webb had not been twenty four hours in the city before orders were given to detain the Speedwell. But the English Minister, or rather Consul, having by some means obtained knowledge of their Intention, communicated the same to the Captain who had just time to escape to his Boat and get down to his Ship, before the Galleys could reach the anchorage. As I had been very ill from Sea Sickness

on the Passage over, Captain Webb had the good nature to take me up with him to Gotenburg to recruit me, which not only answered that purpose, but gave me an Opportunity of seeing the Town.

On our return to England the Sloop was Stationed between Beachy Head and Portland, and took several smugglers, in small Vessels, laden with Brandy and Tea. The whole coast at that time was chiefly supplied by them, as Brandy was brought in the French ports at Guersey and Jersey for eighteen Pence per Gallon, and Tea at 2 shillings or 1/2 a crown a pound. At that time no Penalties attached to the Smuggler except the loss of Vessel and Cargoe, if prosecuted to condemnation; but as the Captors or Custom House Officers seldom detained the Vessels, being of small value, the Smuggler gained a profit if he escaped once in three trips.[8]

In the autumn of 1753 the Speedwell was ordered to Plymouth to refit; after which, and being actually under weigh to return to her station, orders were received by Admiral Watsons[9] Boat, who then commanded at Plymouth, to proceed to Sea with Sealed orders; which on being opened at the distance prescribed, directed Captain Webb to proceed to Virginia, with Dispatches to Governor Dinwiddie,[10] then Lieutenant Governor of that Province.

Previous to our Sailing from Plymouth the Eddystone Light took fire and was burned to the Bottom; all the Guard-ships Boats were sent out with Engines but to no effect. It was a grand but melancholy sight, and as our Boats went with the rest I was present at the scene, and got there time enough to see the Crews and Boats take the two men off the Rock, one of which had as appeared afterwards actually swallowed some of the lead melted from the Lanthorn, and to see the Great Superstructure fall into the Sea, after exhibiting a regular column of Fire.[11]

Our passage to Virginia was about six weeks; arriving, as well as I recollect, about the middle of November.[12] But having no time to prepare for such a voyage, there were little or no fresh Provision on board; and had it not been for the kindness of Admiral Watson, when he sent the orders onboard for our immediate Sailing to the Westward, to put a few sheep and some Live Stock in the Boat for the Captain there litterally would not have been any, and as the Navy Provisions of that day were not in any degree what they have been of late years, as nothing was ever sold by the Victualling Board,[13] but what was actually condemned by Survey. The Provisions which had been returned from the Fleet at the end of the war of 1748/9 continued to be served to the Ships in Commission during the

whole of the Peace Establishment until the war of 1756; which certainly was a great error in Government, as it in no small degree contributed to the great mortality, nearly one third of the seamen died of the scurvy within six months that prevailed in Admiral Boscawen's[14] Fleet which sailed for North America at the breaking out of that war;[15] as well as to the disgust of the Seamen.

The Dispatches[16] to the Governor of Virginia related to the Information which the Ministry[17] had received from private Intelligence, "That the French were building a chain of Forts on the Back of our American colonies on the River Ohio, with the view of Establishing a direct Communication down the Mississippi to the Gulph of Florida, from Quebeck, contrary to the Treaties then existing";[18] and which censured the Virginia Government for not having Earlier apprized the Secretary of State, of such Encroachments being made. The fact turned out to be, when Mr. Dinwiddie the Lieutenant Governor assembled his Council, that the circumstance was perfectly unknown in Williamsburg,[19] the seat of Government, and measures were immediately determined upon for ascertaining whatever might have been done by the French, and the Governor Mr. Dinwiddie sent Mr. George Washington,[20] a young man then about one and twenty who had come to the seat of

Government from Alexandria to seek some civil employment, with the Command of 30 Militia Men, well armed, who proceeded into the Back Country with all possible dispatch, who in about 10, or 12 weeks, after a very perilous expedition returned to Williamsburg confirming all that the British Government had expected.[21]

The Speedwell which had been detained at Hampton for the Governors answer, was dispatched early in February of 1754, and arrived in England after a short passage with the dispatches.[22]

I mention these particulars as they mark two considerable events; one, that it gave the late celebrated General Washington his first Military Ideas;[23] the other, that it occasioned the 7 Years War,[24] as immediately on our return to England, the Expedition under General Braddock[25] and Commodore Keppel[26] was fitted out and sent to Virginia.

Another reason I might give, which is, that happening to be at Williamsburg with Captain Webb, I became acquainted with Mr. Washington and heard him relate all his dangers he had gone through both from the Indians and the French; and how narrowly he had escaped a snare that had been laid for preventing his ever returning to Williamsburg--with the Intelligence he had gained.[27]

After refitting at Plymouth we returned to our Station in the Channel, and was the whole of that summer actively employed against the Smugglers, and Captain Webb having bought a fast sailing Cutter about 40 Tons, in which a great part of my time was passed, I gained not only a knowledge of Seamanship, but became well acquainted with the Coast, from the Downes to Plymouth. However, in the Month of November, the Sloop was laid up for the winter at East Cowes; and the Captain having taken the House next to Cowes Castle for his Family, and allowed all the Ships Company, except about half a dozen, liberty to go where they pleased, or could get employment for 3 months; I availed myself of that opportunity to study Navigation under the Truition of the Master, Mr. Thomas Cosway [?], who at that time, before the Lunar Observations[28] were practised, was reckoned one of the most able Navigators in the Service, as well as a most active and thorough seaman. He was afterwards Admiral Sir Edward Hawke's Master in the Battle with Conflans,[29] and died Master attendant[30] at Deptford, whose death I sincerely lamented.

1755 About the end of February a General Press broke out;[31] and the first knowledge we had of it, was a party of 50 Men from the Guardships[32] at Portsmouth being put on board the Speedwell, with orders to press from all ships arriving

into the Channel, and putting an equal number of Kings Men in Lieu.[33] Without this supply of men we should not have been able to proceed to sea as not more than half of the Ships Company had returned; but in a fortnight after, the whole, with few exceptions returned, having more than 2 years pay due;[34] which very much releaved Captain Webb's mind, fearing to have been censured for his conduct in allowing the Ships Company to be absent; but at that time he had Coustom and precedent to plead in his favor; for it had been almost a general Practice in the Stationed Ships at home, to let the Ships Company be absent all the winter 6 Months; which became a perquisite of the value of the Provisions between the Captain and the Purser, in the Proportion of 2/3ds to the Captain and in many cases the Captain derived an Emolument from the wages; as the men were discharged by a Pay Ticket, signed indeed by the Signing Officers the same as the Ships Book, not payable at any certain time; so that the sailor generally sold his Ticket for 4 or 5 Shillings discount in the pound; and it was paid to whoever was in possession of the Ticket whenever the ship was ordered to be paid; which seldom happened under three or four years, and much often longer;[35] and this mode of Payment of the Navy was never altered until Mr. George Grenville's Act in 1759.[36]

Previous to our sailing from Cowes, I remember to have received a great Mortification and disappointment from Captain Webb; from whom I certainly had received great kindness and attention, but the circumstance was quite unexpected and most extremely inconvenient to me. He sent for me to his House, and after a little enquiry how things went on, respecting our preparation for Sea, He told me I had now been two years on the Books as Midshipman, which rating he had given me at my Friends desire from the beginning, that was as soon as we sailed from under the first Clerk of the checque[37] at Chatham, that he had ordered my Ticket to be made out, which I must assign over to his agent, and that it was now his intention to rate me Masters Mate for myself. I can hardly describe what I felt upon the occasion, as I had formed many plans for the disposal of this large sum of money, and had intended the very next day to ask him for my Ticket; but after a little Pause, and I believe a Tear, I recollected that it was to him alone I was to look for Protection in the Service, and therefore signed my name, for his benefit with a Good Grace.[38] It is, to this day, an astonishment to me, how I contrived to go on, with the trifling supply I could get from home, which however I never asked for but from sheer necessity; I lived entirely on board

the ship, and scarce ever spent a shilling that could have been avoided.

1755 During the summer we were employed most actively on the Imprest Service[39] and carried the New Raised men, sometimes to Portsmouth and at other times to Plymouth to supply the Men of War then fitting out rapidly at all the Ports, and towards the Autumn we received orders to proceed to Sea from Plymouth with secret orders, after about 3 days given for preparation. This proved to be a most pleasant excursion. It was to convey a dispatch to the British Ministers at Lisbon, also at Cadiz, Gibralter and most of the Ports in the Mediterrannean as high as Naples, which was performed in ten weeks; and which was for the purpose of preparing them to expect Hostilities, between us and the French, which really happened shortly after we had sailed, but without any declaration of war.[40]

Before we reached Gibralter on our return from Naples, we spoke one of our cruizers, who gave us the Information of the Hostilities, and falling in with a French Ship the next Day, with a valuable Cargo, which had formerly been the Hanover Packet, we made Prize of her, and left her at Gibralter; and she shared the same fate as all those Captures which were made, for above 8 Months, previous to the war being declared,

which did not happen until May 1756,[41] namely of no benefit to the Captor.

Captain Webb being an old Post Captain now solicited his Friends for a Ship of the Line, but whilst there was a chance of the Rupture blowing over, he did not like to give up the Emoluments of his Sloop.[42] In the month of July, 1756, he was appointed to the Sunderland of 60 Guns ordered to be fitted out at Plymouth.

We were then cruizing off Portland, when one of the King's Cutters joined us from Portsmouth with Captain Cornwall,[43] a Master and Commander,[44] to superceed Captain Webb, who in the same conveyance; after giving up the Command of the Speedwell in proper form to the new Captain, proceeded on to Plymouth to join the Sunderland. As it was intended that I was also to belong to that ship, I should have gone with him in the Cutter, but for the following reason, the want of officers for the Speedwell Sloop.

Unfortunately for Captain Cornwall, the Master, a Mr. Bissett, had leave to go to London to pass his Examination for a higher Rate, and he was not returned. No Lieutenant being allowed, myself as Masters Mate, was doing the duty both of Lieutenant and Master, as well as Pilot; and being only just turned 17,[45] Captain Cornwall was not a little alarmed

at his situation; and within an hour after the former Captain had left the Sloop, he took me into his cabbin; stated his History to me and told me that he would not have taken the command of the ship had not Captain Webb assured him that he might safely rely on my ability to do the duty of Lieutenant as well as Master, and from the knowledge I had of the coast he needed be in no apprehension in the want of a Pilot. And I having also assured him that he might safely confide in my best endeavors to render him every assistance in my power, he would now tell me how tottally incapable he was of acting as captain, without that assistance from me, which he hoped I would afford him.

The Particulars of his History was "that a Relation of his in the last war, Captain Cornwall of the Marlbro', had borne his name on his Ships Book for several years, and having joined his ship in the Mediterranean only a year before the Fleet was ordered home at the Peace of 1749, his Relation obtained a Lieutenant's Commission for him from the Admiral, as a token of his regard for memory of his uncle who had been killed in battle on the Marlbro',[46] That instead of Coming home in the ship, he had remained for some time in Italy before he came to England, and since that period he had lived in the Interior of the Country and never set his foot on

board Ship 'till' he embarked on board the Cutter to come to the Speedwell. He had therefore everything to learn, almost as much as if he had never been at sea".

Under these circumstances we soon became well acquainted with each other, and finding him a most amiable, pleasant and well educated young man, we formed a strict friendship for each other, which lasted to the time of his death, which happened not 'till' many years later.

In the course of the three months I remained in the Sloop with him, we took two small French Privatiers and retook two merchant vessels. I then proceeded to Plymouth to join the Sunderland, under my old Captain, Webb, which Ship I found just coming out of dock, after a thorough repair.

1756 It is here necessary to mention the state of the Navy at that time with respect to Lieutenants and Masters. The Seven or rather eight years of Peace, with only a retainer of 2 Shillings a day half pay for the former and only a small provision for about 30 of the latter, had occasioned the greatest part of the whole, to provide for themselves in the Merchant Service at sea, or in other situations; insomuch that when this war broke out not above one third of the Navy could obtain their Compliment of Officers, and some hundred Lieutenants were passed and made, who had not nearly served

their time in the Navy; but it was allowed to be made up by East India or other merchant Ships time.

The Sunderland felt this Inconvenience particularly, and did not obtain her Compliment of Officers for upwards of 4 Months. Two Lieutenants the first and second, were however named, but were both in the North of Scotland; neither of which joined the Ship for two months, nor had we any Master until after that period, by which time, under the direction of Captain Webb, who resided with his Family at Plympton and came about twice a week to see how our Equipment went on, the ship was compleatly rigged the hold stowed and Cables on board, by my own exertion as Masters Mate, with the assistance of borrowed men from other ships in the Harbour, who were in greater forwardness than ourselves. No Establishment or Contract for Riggers[47] existed at that time.

1757 As this Ship was destined to form part of the Fleet for North America, under the Command of Admiral Holbourn,[48] Captain Webb changed into the Saint Albans of 80 guns then at Portsmouth bound to the Mediterranean Station, and took me with him, by an Application to the Admiralty for that purpose; Captain Mackenzie,[49] the new Captain, having refused to let me go without: and made me handsome promises if I would stay with him.

The St. Albans took out the Mediterrannean Convoy from Spithead, and also from Cork, where we stayed ten days, which gave me an opportunity of seeing the City of Cork and its Invirons, and also Admiral Holbourns Fleet, with 2 Flags[50] and 18 Sail of the Line and 6 Frigates and Fireships, which was the first Fleet I had ever seen assembled.[51]

Our voyage to Gibralter was short and there joined the Fleet under Admiral Osborn[52] and Saunders,[53] consisting of 18 Sail of the Line, and soon after sailed up the Mediterrannean to the Blockade of the French Fleet at Toulon,[54] when after 8 or 9 weeks Cruizing the Fleet went into Cagliari Bay in the S E of Sardinia to water, and left the St. Albans to cruize between that Island and the Barbury shore until relieved.

The next day brought on an Event; happening to be heaving the Logg off the Poop, I discovered a Sail, which had not been noticed from the look out at the masthead. The Captain on my information immediately gave chase, and after a long run came up with it, and found it to be a large French Polacre[55] laden with wool, beeswax, etc. As this was our first prize, and being discovered by myself, I was made Prize Master and received orders to make the best of my way to Leghorn, and deliver the Ship to Mr. Dick,[56] the British Consul, afterwards Sir John Dick. My Compliment was a Midshipman, 8 Seaman and myself.

The crew being shifted, the St. Albans went in chase of another Vessel and was soon out of sight, when standing to the Southward, the wind being Easterly and flowing fresh, I stood under the Island Galita, where I expected to get smooth water and have an opportunity of putting the Vessel to rights and making the Seamen acquainted with the particular mode of the Polacre Rigging, which of course was new to us all, but what was my surprise when on opening the Island I saw there, an armed Kebeck,[57] which hoisted Algerine Colours, and was in the act of getting under way to speak to me. To escape from them was impossible, I therefore thought it best to put on a good face on the circumstance and therefore shortened sail and ran under her stern, and told the Captain that I was a Prize to the Ship he might have seen in the Morning, which was an English Man of War; who had gone to speak with another Vessel, but was afterwards to return to this anchorage. He sent his boat on board, and finding I had not deceived him in regard to the Vessel, and not chusing to encounter the Man of War, he got under way immediately and took a course so as not to meet her. And glad I was to excape being Plundered, if not made a Prize of, Having no Mediterrannean Pass.[58]

In the night the wind gave me a Start so that in the Morning I found myself off the opening of the Bay of Cagliari, to which place I intended to proceed in hopes of getting a convoy, or some protection from the Admiral on my Passage to Leghorn. The weather was remarkably fine, and we were near enough in, by 7 in the Morning, to discover the mastheads of the Fleet from the Deck, when we perceived a Lattine Vessel coming out rowing and sailing. As she approached us fast, and having no colours up, we began to consider how far it was possible; as Cagliari was a neutral port, she might be an Enemy. We therefore began to prepare our four three pounders, all our force, which must have made a feeble resistance had she attacked us, as we soon perceived she was full of men and was coming down to reconoitre us, and little doubt remained of her being a French Privatier.

At this moment it struck me of its being possible, as for everything about the Polacre must appear as still French, and the Privateer by dressing ourselves in the old cloathes we found left on board; accordingly I put on a red fur Cap and an old Grego,[60] the men followed my Example and walked carelessly about the deck not seeming to take any notice of the cruizer; this stratagem had the desired effect; for after coming within Musket Shot, to our great joy and surprize, he

he changed his course and gave chase to a Sail in another quarter.

The next day the same French Privatier came into Cagliari, and I met the French Captain ashore at the Pratique House;[61] who told me that he had, only 2 days before our Capture, been on board our Polacre, who was then beating to the westward with contrary Winds; that the captain had been very civil to him and made him some presents; and not having the least suspicion of her being in English hands, seeing the captain in the very same dress he wore when he last saw him, he was unwilling to give him any further trouble, and therefore gave chase to another vessel which he found to be a Ragusan.[62]

This was indeed a very narrow escape from becoming a French Prisoner, and it had another good effect, by causing Admiral Osborn to give me an order not to move out of the Bay until he could give me a convoy to Leghorn.

As our prize had come from the Levant, we were confined in Quarantine which prevented me from seeing the Town of Cagliari, which is very large and by being built upon the side of a Hill ascending from the water, has a most noble and beautiful appearance.

In the course of a week the Ambuscade Frigate Captain Gwyn[63] was ordered to give me and some other vessels going that way, convoy to Leghorn[64]--The Wind being westerly we soon passed through the small islands Planosa, Stromboli, &c., and fetched into the Bocca of Piombina between the Island of Elba and the main land, which is a channel not more than 8 or 9 miles broad, with a Current always running to the S. Eastward. Captain Gwyn persevered against the westerly wind for two days without making much way, and then bore away and went round the south side of Elba and in less than 30 hours we anchored in the Road at Leghorn.

Next day I saw the agent Mr. Dick, who gave me orders to come into the Mole to perform Quarantine, agreable to the Regulations of the port, first putting the cargo into Lighters, which were sent off to us in the Road, and brought two Men as Guards, who remained with us the whole time of the Quarantine which lasted 40 days--and a most tedious manner of passing so long a period, I well remembered to have found it.

A fortnight after my arrival another Prize to the St. Albans came in, commanded by the 2d Lieutenant Lower. She was from Smyrna, and tolerably richly laden. These two Prizes, which were the first carried into that Port in the 7 Years

War and were the foundation of Sir John Dick's fortune as they sold for a large sum, which allowed me £205 for my share as a Masters Mate. The seamen were put on board the Guernsey of 50 Guns Captain Milbank;[65] and the agent having by favor allowed me to receive my Proportion at Leghorn, after we had got Pratique, I bought a Bill of Exchange on London for £150, which I sent home as a present to my Father and Mother.

As this was the first Money, as a sum, I had ever been Master of, I was too well acquainted with the want of it to squander the remainder, as was too much the custom for young men at such a place of temptation as Leghorn. However having the run of Mr. Dick the Consuls House, and Mrs Dick being a very delightful woman, I had the best opportunity of seeing the place and enjoying the amusements and society, to the greatest advantage; for upwards of a fortnight I remained there; more especially as it happened to be the time of the Carnivals.[66]

The Guernsey took the English trade down to Gibralter. We therefore with all our Men embarked on her, and joined the Fleet in the lower part of the Mediterrannean just in time to see the action of the Monmouth taking the Fondrayant, and the Revenge the L'Orfee.[67]

Captain Gardner[68] having lost his life in that action, Captain Harvey,[69] afterwards Lord Bristol, went into his ship the Monmouth, and my captain, Webb, changed from the St. Albans into the Hampton Court, and took me with him. And we remained cruizing in the Gut of Gibralter, to intercept the French Fleet from Toulon, then expected to be making a push to join the Brest Fleet;[70] but which did not happen whilst we remained with Admiral Osborn. The Ship becoming so very leaky that Captain Webb wrote for a Survey upon her, and being found to be in very bad condition, we received orders to make the best of our way to Plymouth.

On the Passage we fell in with a French Frigate, and in the eagerness of pursuit, so much sail was set upon the Ship, that a sudden alarm prevailed of the ship being in danger of sinking. Sail was immediately shortened, but not before 7 feet water was in the hold; and the French Man, who we were coming up fast with, made his escape, under his Topsails.

On our arrival in Hamoze,[71] Vice Admiral Harrison,[72] then Commander in that Port, hoisted his Flag on board the Hampton Court, which ship was kept in Commission, with a reduced Compliment until a dock became vacant for her being repaired.

Having now been 5 years at Sea, and understanding from Captain Webb that he had procured me a certificate for another year,[73] from the captain of an East Indiaman of his acquaintance, I obtained permission to go up to London to pass my Examination for a Lieutenant, when I found no difficulty at the Navy Board; and after staying two or three weeks at home with my Mother and sisters, I rejoined the Hampton Court at Plymouth, but without any immediate prospect of obtaining a Commission--and Captain Webb having at that time an object in view for himself to obtain which, all his Interest was exerted, candidly told me that I must do the best I could for myself.[74]

However, I did not remain long on this Guardship. The Albany Sloop of War 14 Guns Captain Jno. Dalrymple[75] came in to refit, and having had strong reason to be dissatisfied with his Lieutenant, Palliser[76] It was agreed between them that he should go ashore to pick quarters and I received an order from the Port Admiral to act as Lieutenant on board the Albany until his return, which never took place.

The Sloop was stationed between Milford Haven and Plymouth, with the Trade round Land, backwards and forwards; and living on the best terms with my Captain, I passed Six Months very pleasantly; but without the least prospect of a

Commission; 'till at length an Event took place, which laid the foundation of all my future prosperity in life.

My Captain was made Post into the Solebay, and his Successor Lieutenant Hallum,[77] an old officer then on the Impress Service in Ireland, had not joined; I therefore became Commanding Officer. We were then refitting at Plymouth, and the Ship being cleared for going into Dock the next day; unrigged to the lower Masts, and everything out but the Ballast, when at 7 in the Morning I received orders to attend the Admiral. He first asked me, In what state the Albany was, I answered that she was preparing for Docking,

> 'No,' says he, 'she must not be docked now, as I want her immediately to Convey some Victuallers and carry out some Stores which are much wanted in Sir Edward Hawke's Fleet. Therefore get your Ship into the Sound as soon as you can, make the signal for the Victuallers to join you, and then come to me for your orders.'

I should here state that Admiral Harrison lived on the opposite or western side of Hamoze at Weard; he was a very old man, of few words, and as I wore a Lieutenant's Uniform, no question was asked as to my actual situation; for had that been known, I concluded he would have given an order to one of the Lieutenants of his Flagship to have taken the command of the Ship--I therefore hastened onboard, and fortunately arrived in time, before the parts of the Ships Company, who

I had given leave of absence to, had gone ashore. I immediately communicated to the Officers that the Ship was to be got ready for the sea with all possible expedition, for a most important service; and it is only justice to them and the whole Ships Company, who were excellent men and perfectly attached to me, to say that they seconded my Endeavours, even beyond my expectations; and each man in the ship vied with each other who should render the most service, From the Dockyard, Victuallers Office, Southdown Brewery and Ordnance Wharf, I had everything I asked for brought to me without delay. Inso much by 5 oclock in the afternoon the ship was in a condition to receive the stores which the Master attendant brought along side for the Fleet.

They consisted of 4 -- Seventy four Gun ship Topmasts, 2 Dozen Topsail Yards, 2 Gibb Booms, various smaller articles and spars, and a sheet anchor for the Admirals Ship the Namillies. The latter of which was unstocked and of course stowed up and down before the mast in the Main Hatchway. The Topmasts and Spars were divided equally on each Side, hoisted up to the height of the Gunnel, and then slung across the Forecastle and Quarter Deck by the Stream Cable and Hawsers and lashed down to the Row Ports in such a manner by cross lashings, some fore and aft, that they should fetch no way;

nor did they prevent the guns from being used, if there should be occassion.

At 1/2 past 6, having two hours Ebb tide in hand, I got the ship under way, but leaving a Boat to tow off the Top Gallant Masts which were still ashore, and without any assistance from the Pilot, who said the tide was too far spent, turned down into the Sound against a smart SE wind, where we anchored, and made a signal for the convoy. I then directed the Master to put the ship to rights, and was at the Admirals between 8 and 9 oclock for my orders; which, together with the Rendezvous of Sir Edward's Fleet and various dispatches from the Admiralty and Secretary of States Offices, I found quite ready for me.

Next morning, the wind continuing between S and West, I got under way with the little Fleet of 7 or 8 sail of Victuallers and after making several Trips, rounded, at no great distance, the Ram Head point; and the wind backing a point to the Southward gave us a good start down channel, so that before night we passed Falmouth and soon after saw the Lizard lights.

In the night the wind became more favorable so as to allow my shaping a direct course for the Rendezvous of the Fleet, Ushant ESE 15 Degrees. At 10 oclock they were in sight, and at Noon I was onboard the Admiral and delivered him

my Dispatches; together with a statement of what I had brought out for different ships. Sir Edward Hawke[78] received me very kindly, with his Spying Glass in his hand, coming out of the Stern Gallery, saying

> I am very glad you have joined us before night comes on; for I apprehend a violent Gale is coming on, therefore get onboard your little sloop just as fast as possible, and do your best to preserve your spars if you can, and if not you must get rid of them.

at this time the Fleet were close Reefing the Topsails and so suddenly did the gale come on that before I had well got onboard my Ship, which lay close under the Admirals Lee Quarter, and my boat hoisted in, the gale so much encreased, that the fore topsails were taking in, the Top Gallant Masts striking, and each ship preparing for the pending Gale, which before 8 oclock was quite tremendous, and the Sea prodidgously high.

It proved a most dreadful night with thunder lightning and hard rain. I had taken care before dark to secure a clear Berth from any of the great Ships, and I thought it best to lay too under the double Reefed Mainsail to keep the Ship quiet, and preventing her rolling to windward. She leaked very much, and great apprehension was entertained by many of the old seamen that the spars would so strain the Upper Works, that the Ship could not possibly hold out. To this, I opposed

the danger that would accrue of the ship striking on the Spars, if we were obliged to cut them away; Therefore so long as we could prevent the water from gaining materially on the Pumps, I would not part with the Spars, but kept the men constantly employed in strengthening the lashings, so as to prevent their fetching way; and nevertheless, did not neglect to have axes and hatchets ready to get rid of them, if it should be absolutely necessary for the safety of the Ship.

During this sad night of weather we saw continual flashing of Guns firing;[79] and never were people more happy to see day light appear again, and the Gale to abate them we were; but how different was the Fleet circumstanced to what it had been the day before. Two Ships, the Hero, Lord Edgcume,[80] and the Conqueror, Captain Harland[81] were totally dismasted, one more had lost her Foremast, and several appeared with the loss of Topmasts and lower yards. As for ourselves we were little or no sufferers by the storm.

As the day advanced, the wind fell, and the sea went down; so that before noon I had my Topsails set, and got news to the Admiral, who made signals to the ships, to whom my Spars belonged, to close with the Albany; and as their Boats came near I cut the Topmasts &c. loose from the ship, with

marks for each boat to know their own; and glad was my Ships Compliment to be clear of them.

The dismasted Ships were fully employed all this day in getting up their jury masts, and in the course of the next day, they appeared tollerably well fitted, having had all the assistance from other ships they required, and the weather having continued moderate, which proved a most fortunate circumstance as the Night following it came on to blow from the westward extremely hard; and as soon as it was daylight the Admiral judged it prudent to give up for the present the Blockade of the Port of Brest, and bore up for Torbay.[82]

Soon after our arrival there I went on board the Admirals Ship, who sent for me into his Cabbin, took me by the hand and thanked me for the service I had rendered the Fleet by preserving the Topmasts, for without them several of the Ships would not be able to proceed with him to sea again; Enquired where the Captain of the Albany was, and informed me that the express he was then sending to the Admiralty, would acquaint the Board of my good conduct, with his request that I might be promoted to the Rank of Commander, which I had shewn I well deserved.

To this kindness I could only express my gratitude and thanks; but I shall never forget his surprize, when I told him,

that I had not obtained the rank of Lieutenant. He said he was very sorry for it and observed the Sea Service was always best executed by Enterprizing young men when they made themselves acquainted with their business, which he was sure was my case; and altho' I could not now be made a Captain by this Recommendation, he hoped that it would not be long before I should obtain the other step.

Before I left the ship Lord Howe,[83] Captain of the Magnanime, then a crack officer, who all the service were looking up to, came onboard the Ramillies and went to the Admiral, who stated to him the singular circumstances of the Albany, which had brought out so many Topmasts to the Fleet, and had preserved them in the late violent Gale of Wind, being only commanded by a young Midshipman, who did not appear to be above 17 or 18 years of age.[84] This occasioned for his Lordship to send for me into the captains Cabin, who began by thanking me for bringing out his Topmasts etc. and then entered into conversation respecting what the Admiral had been relating to him, and made me an offer of writing to the Admiralty, that I might be appointed a Lieutenant to his Ship, if I had no objection.

This was my first introduction to his Lordship, and Sir Edward Hawke and ultimately the ground work of all my future Promotion in the Service.

When I returned to Plymouth, I learned that had I not sailed as early as I did the morning I went to join the Fleet, I should have been superceded in my command by the Admirals first Lieutenant who having informed the Admiral of my not being a commissioned Lieutenant received an order to take the command, but before he reached Plymouth Sound, we were out of sight.

In the course of a week I received a letter from Mr. Clevland[85] then Secretary of the Admiralty, dated 20th June 1759 with the following words

> Sir
> I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that in consequence of the statement Admiral Sir Edward Hawke has made to their Lordships of your good conduct whilst commanding His Majesty's Sloop Albany, and of the service you rendered to several of the Ships in his Fleet by preserving their stores, their Lordships have been pleased to appoint you 5th Lieutenant of H. M. Ship Magnanime and your commission is sent to Sir Edward Hawke.
> I am Sir
> Your very humble Servant
> J. Clevland

I shortly after took a passage in the Fame of 74 Guns, the Honorable Captain Byron,[86] to the Fleet off Brest, and when the Admiral gave me my Commission, he told me that the Magnanime was compleat in her officers, but I should be taken care of. However the Magnanime's boat coming onboard the

Admirals Ship the Royal George[87] I embraced the opportunity of going to thank Lord Howe for his intended kindness, who prevented my return, by telling me he was going to settle the matter with the Admiral, which he accordingly did, by procuring an order for the 3rd Lieutenant, Wills, to fill a vacancy in a private ship; from some misunderstanding that subsisted between them. This was not a favorable beginning for me with by Brother Officers, to whom, I was a perfect Stranger, and it happened that Lieutenant Wills was a great favorite with the whole Wardroom mess, who all expressed their concern at his loss. However in a very few days everything was restored to perfect harmony.

My reason for being so minute in the foregoing particulars is, as I soon after learned, that I had incurred the Admiral's displeasure by going onboard Lord Howe's Ship as it was his intention to have kept me as a supernumerary[88] Lieutenant in the Royal George; and had that been my destination, in less then 4 months I could have been a Captain, from the Promotion which took place in November on the victory over the French Fleet under Conflans.

Instead of which it made 6 years difference in my promotion.

The Fleet continued blocking up the Port of Brest until about the 14th of November when a violent Gale of westerly wind

forced them to take shelter in Torbay.[89] The Admiral sent up an express to inform the Admiralty of his situation, and proposed to their Lordships, that as the season of the year was now too far advanced to keep the 3 deckers at Sea, he would send them to the different Ports to refit; and if it was desired to keep on the blockade of Brest any longer, he would send the Vice Admiral Sir Charles Hardy[90] with a certain number of 74s for that purpose, believing confidently, that the French Fleet, from all the intelligence he could learn, had no intention of putting to sea this winter.

This opinion and proposal of the Admiral is however had very little weight with the Government who had positive intelligence, that the Duke D'Aguillion's[91] Army, consisting of Twenty thousand men then assembled at Vannes, were intended to Invade Ireland, and the Brest fleet was to be their escort; accordingly Sir Edward was ordered not to lose a moments time in putting to sea with his whole force the first favorable moment.[92]

At the time this order arrived, all the Boats of the Fleet were ashore getting off water and supplys. The westerly wind died away and was followed by a light air from the East, and the greatest possible alacrity prevailed in getting the Boats onboard for in less than 6 hours the whole fleet had

passed the Bury Head, and with a pressed sail, in 36 hours, rounded the Isle of Ushant; when on speaking with an accidental Neutral Ship intelligence was gained that Monsieur Conflans[93] with 22 Sail of the Line had left Brest two days before, which was the very time we had sailed from Torbay.[94]

The wind was NWward and blew strong, there could be little doubt of the course the French would steer and the Admiral carried all possible sail to make Bell Isle. Accordingly at daylight in the morning of the 20th the Maidstone Frigate and the Magnanime were sent a Head by Signal to look out, when by 8 oclock the Frigate made known she saw several sails in the SE, and without waiting for orders I was soon at the Masthead, and assured the captain that he might with perfect certainty make known to the Admiral, who was then 2 leagues astern, that the ships we saw were the French Fleet.

This Discovery was particularly fortunate, for at this time some of Conflans Ships were in chase of a small squadron of ours, under Commodore Duff,[95] who had been stationed off the Morbian to watch the Motion of the Duke D'Aguillons Army at that place.

No sooner did Monsieur Conflans perceive the British Fleet in his Rear, than he left off chasing Duff's Squadron

and began forming his Fleet, His first idea seemed not to decline the Battle, as he was perceived to be placing all his heavy ships in the rear, and laying too to receive us, but as we approached, he altered his plan, and made sail in a line ahead. Himself leading the Fleet and going about 6 or 7 Knots.[96]

Admiral Hawke made a signal for the General Chase, and then for the 7 headmost ships to form a line and engage the Enemy as they got up. The Magnanime being very foul was enabled only by carrying prest sail to have any share of the action. The weather was extremely rough and very squally; in one of which the Main top Gallant Yard was carried away, and the sail could not be got in. The Ship lay greatly along, and the Topmast bent so much that the Topmen would not go aloft to get the sail in, but called down to settle the Main Topsail Halyards. This, of course, whilst in chase of the enemy, could not with propriety be done; when seeing the urgency of getting on another Top gallant yard up if possible, the battle not being then begun, I left my quarters on the upper deck, went aloft, and drove 3 or 4 of the Topmen up before me, cut the sail from the broken yard, which was thrown over Board, and fortunately succeeded with little delay in getting another yard Riggd, and the Sail set.

This trifling circumstance would not have been noticed, had it not materially contributed to our early overtaking the Hero, who had lost her Main Top Gallant Mast and from having received the thanks of Lord Howe for my zeal and activity, on the Quarter deck just as the action began. It was near 2 oclock before the Warspight Sir John Bently[97] began the action being the headmost ship, with the French 84, Formidable,[98] and soon after the other Ships Engaged as they came up; when the 4th Ship of the Enemy line having lost her foretopmast and with it the main Top gallant mast, quitted the line and put before the wind. Almost at the same time, we had our foreyard Gibb boom and foretopsail yard shot away which obliged us to quit the line also, and gave chase to the ship before the wind, which we outsailed, and soon came up with. She brought too to rake us as we came up, and Lord Howe went under her stern and laid the Magnanime close alongside the French Hero a ship of equal force and dimensions, so that the muzzles of the guns of the two ships came in contact; and a most serious battle ensued for about a quarter of an hour, when the enemy ran from their quarters, and the French Captain, from behind the Main Mast, called out for Quarter, as they struck; but no man dared go aft to pull down the Ensign,[99] until all firing had ceased on the part of

the Magnanime. Lord Howe gave orders to the French captain to let go on an anchor immediately which in a very short time was done, and the Prize brought up in 12 fathoms water about 4 or 5 miles from the shore. The same orders for anchoring was at the same time given for our best bow anchor to be dropt; and which was accordingly done; but unfortunately the Masters forgetting, that the Steam Cable, out of the Gun room port, was attached to it as a Spring, in case of engaging at anchor. The ship did not bring up; nor until the First Lieutenant Bremer,[100] in rowing under the Stern, to take possession of the Prize, perceived what prevented the ship from bringing up. We cut away the spring. The small bow anchor stock had been shorn away inthhe action, and the sheet anchor was upon the Gunwale; so that we had by this unlucky circumstance separated at least 2 miles from the captured ship, and there being too much wind and sea for a boat to row a Head, Lieutenant Bremer returned, without having been able to take possession of the Prize, which in the night, cut her cable and drove ashore, and which together with Monsieur Conflans own ship the Soleil Royale[101] who had done the same, were, after some days, set on fire by the boats of the Fleet; covered by Captain Lockhart Ross[102] in the Chatham of 50 Guns--we lost in this action a Lieutenant 3 Mid-

shipmen and 25 men killed and about 35 men wounded. I have no intention of giving any particular account of this Celebrated Engagement between Hawke and Conflans, on the 20th November 1759 but merely to show the general Issue of it. It certainly prevented the invasion of Ireland, and gave the Dominion of the Sea to Great Britain; Sir Edward Hawke had great merit in not hesitating to follow the enemy into the intricate Navigation, into which their Pilots led them, and shewed his wisdom in bringing the Fleet to anchor when night came on; and had his subsequent conduct been such as was expected by the active and enterprizing officers of the Fleet, scarce a Line of Battleship of the French Fleet would have escaped. Instead of which 7 Sail were allowed to lighten their Ships in view and in 3 days got into the Vilaine River. The Vice Admiral Beau Frement[103] with 12 Sail went off in the night to Rochefort, and it was not until 4 days after the action that Commodore Keppel[104] with 12 Sail was sent in pursuit of him, who had the mortification to see the last Ship of the enemy run up the Charonte at high water. Only 1 ship was brought home (the Formidable) 2 sunk in action and 2 were Burnt.[105]

The Magnanime was one of the first ships sent into Port to refit, and in attempting to get into St. Helens in the

Night, we ran aground on the Bembridge Ledge, at about 1/2 [illegible], which occasioned the Guns to be thrown over Board, the water started and the ship lightened by every means possible; the wind blowing strong from the SWward made a great sea, and but little expectation prevailed of saving the Ship. However at high water by pressing her down with sail she floated, and we ran directly into Portsmouth Harbour, and was taken the next tide into the drydock, when it was discovered the greatest part of the Main Keel and Larboard Shanks were beat off, and so much of the bottom injured, and it took 4 months to repair her, the guns, brass, were afterwards recovered.

Most of that time I was, as youngest Lieutenant, at a Rendezvous in London to raise Men to compleat our Compliment, which was the practice of the Service at that time for each Ship to raise their own Men, and to depend very little on the Admiralty for Supplys.

In the Spring of 1760 Lord Howe commanded a small squadron to prevent the French Ships from escaping out of the Vilaine, and took the Isle Dumet which gave us a better anchorage.[106] The next year he was appointed Commodore in the Basque Road with a Squadron of 15 Sail of the line and 6 Frigates, cruizing occasionally, but more frequently at anchor; with the French

Fleet of equal Numbers, full in View, in the Charante, His Lordship continued to hold this Command, which was considered a detachment of the Western Squadron,[107] without any material event happening, until the Spring of 1762, when the Duke of York[108] the Kings Brother, was promoted to the Rank of Rear Admiral and Lord Howe was appointed his Captain. A Three deck Ship being judged proper for his reception, The Officers and the whole of the Magnanime's Ships Company were turned over to the Princess Amelia of 80 Guns, and in July of that year we joined the Western Squadron, of which His Royal Highness made a part as 3rd in Command until the war ended early in 1763, when his Flag was struck and the ship paid off at Portsmouth.[109]

The Duke of York was a most amiable man, very found of the Profession, and would have made a good figure in it if he had lived--Being of the same age as His Royal Highness, and everybody around him being at least 15 years his senior, I was much noticed by him; was more with him than any other officers and received many marks of kindness from him to the hour of his death. I shall never forget how eagerly he pressed me into his arms, when I conveyed to him the intelligence of the Birth of the Prince of Wales,[110] Which seemed to give him great delight, saying, "he should now consider himself quite

as a free Man, just released from Trammels", being before the Presumptive Heir of the Crown.

1763 During the first 3 months of this year I passed my time very happily in London with my Father and Mother and two youngest Sisters, the eldest Lydia having some time before married a Scotch gentleman, Mr. William Douglas, and resided at Edinburgh. This was the Father by my sister of the Sir Andrew Douglas;[111] that celebrated Sea Officer, who so eminently distinguished himself in the two succeeding wars, with America and France, and died in 1797, being then a Colonel of Marines, at the early age of 35. His Father having died when his son was only ten years old, he became my charge, and he never parted from me until he was a Post Captain at 19 when Admiral Arbuthnot[112] gave him, the Roebuck on my quitting that ship.

In April 1763 I married Miss Cecilia Sutherland whose Person, Manners, and Temper, was everything that man could wish in a wife, but my Happyness was of short duration; a rapid decline seized upon her in the second year of our marriage; and altho' she lived several weeks after she was delivered of a Boy, which did not survive her, she expired at Limerick in Ireland in the 21st year of her age. She left no near Relation but her Mother, who died the year following.

To proceed with my narrative. On consulting Lord Howe,[113] as to employment in time of Peace, he brought to my Recollection, how much we had been at a loss during the war for a want of a Knowledge of the French Coast, and the difficulty we had experienced in obtaining proper Pilots. He therefore recommended me to take the Command of one of the Cutters, which were about to be purchased with the Service, to assist the Revenue against Smuggling; and I judged such an appointment to be so much more eligible than going into a Guardship, that I eagerly embraced the Offer, and being introduced by his Lordship to Mr. George Grenville,[114] then First Lord of the Admiralty, he gave me permission to go down to Sheerness, where the Cutters were fitting and to chuse the one the most proper for the Service proposed; which should be stationed in the Channel to give me the opportunity, besides assisting the Revenue, of occasionally visiting the French Coast and Harbours.

The one I chose was the Grace, a Cutter of 120 Tuns, 10 Guns and a Compliment of 30 Men. I took some pains in getting both Officers and men, in which I was most fortunate, and being the first ready for Sea, about the 20th April 1763, and reported accordingly, I received immediate orders to proceed to Calais, there to receive on board a quantity of stores, which had been provided for the Earl of Sandwish's Embassy to

Spain,[115] but who had now become First Lord of the Admiralty, and returning with them to Deptford to acquaint the Secretary of the Admiralty[116] of my arrival.

In three days this was accomplished; but not before information was given by the Smugglers to the Custom House Officers of Deal and Dover, that the Grace was at Calais taking on a cargoe 'Being somewhat aware of it as I passed through the Downes, and saw a Revenue Boat waiting to speak with me, I ordered a Rope to be thrown to them, which as soon as they had hold of, layed their oars in, and was hauling up alongside, was accordingly cut, and having a fresh breeze of wind and a prest sail set they were of course unable to overtake the Vessel. A second boat at the Upper End of the Downes was served in the same way, and I arrived the same afternoon at Deptford at the Kings Moorings, carrying the Flood all the way up with me; then taking to my Boat, the tide served me sufficiently to Whitehall Stairs, and I saw Lord Sandwich at the Admiralty before 6 oclock.

His Lordship thanked me for the Expedition I had used in his Service, but at the same time gave me to understand that the Treasury had not yet given orders to the Custom House to let the articles, which were chiefly wine; Champagne, Burgundy and Claret, be landed; and that there actually existed

some doubt, whether it could be done without an Order in Council; notwithstanding Mr. Grenville assured him, Lord Sandwich, that such an order should be given, before he had agreed to relinquish his Embassy for the appointment he now held. I told his Lordship I must return with the tide to my vessel, and hoped I should have the order for landing the articles as soon as possible, as I foresaw some difficulty with the Custom House, in consequence of my refusing to let their Boats examine my Vessel. He said I might depend upon hearing from him in the Morning, and gave orders to his secretary to acquaint Mr. G. Grenville, then become First Lord of the Treasury,[117] of my arrival and obtain the proper order without delay--Accordingly I left his Lordship; got down with my Boat through the Bridges[118] to Deptford, and on going on Board, found a Custom House Officer had actually entered the Vessel and pretended to make a Seizure both of the Cutter and the Cargoe. Without the least hesitation I ordered him to go quickly into the boat alongside, which would land him safely on shore; which if he did not immediately do, force would be used, but which I was desirous to avoid, and that I was willing to believe that he was unacquainted that I had myself a deputation to make seizures, or he would not have presumed to have put the Broad Arrow[119] on the Kings Ship; Fortunately the officer took me at my word, and went into the

boat, saying, "I should be answerable for all the consequences."

My next step was an immediate Resolution to get everything out of the vessel before Morning. Accordingly I wrote a note to the Master attendant of the Yard to send me two stout Launches; into which, the whole Cargoe was put, and when the Flood made, the Master and a Midshipman proceeded with them to Whitehall Stairs, ahd the Whole were put into the Admiralty before Daylight.

My conduct in this intricate business pleased Lord Sandwich very much. He said it marked my character as an active officer of prompt decision; and that I might depend on his support at the Admiralty, as it would always afford him a pleasure in being useful to me. I learned afterwards that the Treasury as as much satisfied with the termination of this business as Lord Sandwich himself, as it relieved Mr. Grenville from his promise of giving an order which would have been irregular and a bad precedent. This exploit would not have been mentioned but for the purpose of shewing a circumstance which brought me to the particular notice of the First Lord of the Admiralty, who ever after continued, not only my public but my private and firm Friend ever after, as did also his son the last Lord Sandwich[120] to the day of his death!

My station was from Dunnoze, through the Needles to Christchurch Head, calling once every fortnight at Lymington for orders, which made me quite independent of the Flag at Portsmouth; and nothing could possibly be more pleasant and agreable to me, who was passionately fond of sailing, than this command, as I had a yacht that is, the cutter kept for me at the expense of the Government. I was also fortunate in taking a Prize the first week after I got down to my Station. The Cutter was at anchor in Sandown Bay, and taking a walk on shore with the Master, we perceived when we got on the Hills, a Dutch Galliot[121] laying too 4 or 5 miles from the Shore, with a number of Boats round her. I guessed immediately that she was smuggling her Cargo into the boats, and lost no time in persuing her, came up with her and carried her into Portsmouth; When I found on stating the case to the Collector, that the Cargoe being spirits in 10 Gallon Casks was forfeited by the Hovering Act, but Not the Vessel.[122] In this cutter I remained two years, and past the time most happily in all respects. At that time a number of yachts were kept at and about Southampton, and my Vessel having the credit of being the best sailer on the coast, Until a new Cutter Body was designed by Bowles at Beer, Devon, 1765, we had frequent sailing Matches; and having a general acquaintance

in that part of Hampshire, I had frequently several friends with me, whenever I visited the French Coast and Harbours; which I became perfectly acquainted with, in the whole extent of the Channel, without neglecting the other part of my duty.

In one of those excursions an Event occurred which I cannot help mentioning in order to shew how much the British Flag was respected and honoured at that time. Five or 6 leagues from the French Coast I fell in with a Fleet of 7 Sail of Dutch Men of War under the Vice Admiral Fische,[123] and 8 Sail of East Indiamen going up Channel. Finding that no other return was made to my shewing my colours than their doing the same and hauling them down again, I sent an officer to the Admiral to know the reason why the British Flag was not saluted. The answer was that it was unknown to him that an English man of war was not saluted. The answer was that it was unknown to him that an English man of war was in Company, the Cutter having been taken for a pleasure yacht;[124] and when being informed that my Vessel was a part of the British Navy and commanded by a Lieutenant, I was saluted by lowering the Top Gallant Sails[125] and firing 9 Guns. These sort of marks of respect from Foreign Nations, I am sorry to say are now at an end![126]

1765 In that year, in order to do away the apprehension that no promotion would take place in the Navy in time of Peace, which had been the case in Former Periods, The Admiralty were permitted to make 10 Post Captains from the Commanders List, 10 Lieutenants were promoted to Commanders, and 20 Midshipmen got Commissions. Both the Duke of York and Lord Howe interested themselves in my favour and I became one of the fortunate Lieutenants who were made Commanders. We were all placed on halfpay,[127] and I embraced the opportunity of visiting the continent and passed the whole of that year at Vernon in Normandy, studying the French Language and passed my time very pleasantly; there being few Towns in France at that time where there resided more of the Petite Noblesse, and which composed so agreable a Society.

In 1767 I returned to England, and was after appointed to the Command of the Savage Sloop of War, was stationed on the West Coast of Ireland, and Limerick was my winter quarters. I should be very ungrateful to the Irish Gentlemen and Ladies of that Country, if I ever forgot the uncommon kindness and attention which I experienced from them in all parts of that hospitable Country, and particularly of the three counties of Limerick, Kerry and Galway.

In 1769 the Savage being refitted at Portsmouth I received an order to replace on the Newfoundland Station, a

Sloop of War that had been sent on another mission to the Coast of Africa. I sailed in April and joined Commodore Byron[128] in May at St. Johns. Soon after my orders were to protect the Fishery on the Banks; when being near that part where the French usually at that time fished, I amused myself by taking a particular account of the extent of that branch of their Newfoundland Fishery,[129] which is so useful and important to the French Marine as a nursery for Seamen, by taking a List of all the Ships so employed, the Ports they belonged to, their Tonage and Number of Men they carried. The French Bankers are generally ships of 2 or 300 Tons, carry about 20 Men, arrive on the Banks in April where they remain fishing until they are quite loaded, which takes 4 or 5 months, and never make the land.

This List on my return I sent to the Admiralty, by the permission of my Commodore, and received their thanks for my Proceedings. It was fortunate for me that I had done so, for it gave great umbrage to the French Court, and a formal complaint was made to our ambassadore at Paris, Lord Hartford,[130] whose letter was sent to me to answer.

As I had received no orders, either from my commander or from the Admiralty to make such an examination, my reply was that I had no other object in view in the enquiry than my own satisfaction and information, wishing to obtain a general

knowledge of the Commerce of Europe when any opportunity presented itself. This answer was returned to the French Government and I heard no more of the Complaint.

On my return to Head quarters at St. Johns in October, after having performed the duty of Surrogate in the several Harbours to the Southward and presented the Report of my proceedings to the Governor,[131] I was dispatched to England and meeting with excessive bad weather in the middle of November had a very narrow escape from foundering, by an uncommon sea which, scudding before the wind, not only broached the ship too, but stove in the Stern down to the Cabin Floor, which was 4 or 5 steps below the Main Deck, so that until we cut the Mainsail from the yard, and throwing it doubled over the Stern, hauling the two ends round the quarters, and securing it with lashings and spars; the water was gaining fast in the Ship, having only the slight deal bulkhead of the Cabbin, to keep out every sea which came in, at each dip of the stern; and had that given way, from the weight it had to sustain, the ship must inevitably have sunk; as before we got the Stern in a degree secured so as to keep out the body of water that flowed in, which at least took up near 2 hours, the water was considerably above the Platform of the Officers Cabins, and nearly up to their bed Places. Nearly everything Movable had

been washed Overboard by the first great Sea which broke over the Ship, even to the 4 Newfoundland Dogs; and altho some of the men stated they had also been overboard, they had contrived to get in again, so that no one was lost, but many very much bruised--Fortunately the weather moderated before night, but we did not reduce the water in the hold to 2 feet before morning.

As the wind continued westerly we made the land in a few days, passed up the Channel through the Needles and into Portsmouth Harbour, and astonished all the Dockyard People when viewing the State and appearance of the Ship, to think how she had been kept above water. As soon as the Report of her State reached the Admiralty an order came down to pay her off.

Nov. 1769 I then returned to reside at my cottage at Freshwater in the Isle of Wight, with my Father, and second Sister Jane, having then lost my Dear Mother who died 28 November 1763 at her House in Postman Street London, and was buried 30 Dec following at Hampton, Middlesex, my youngest sister Sidia having married in 1764 Tho' Hunter, a Lieutenant in the Army then on half pay resided at Lymington.

It is with great and heartfelt satisfaction that I reflect my Father passed the latter part of his life in the Bosom of his children, and that I even contributed to his and

and my Sisters Comforts to the utmost of my power, to the fullest extent of my means; that altho the little Estate at Eton was nominally mine I never to the present have appropriated five pounds of it to my own use. As a single man I was an Economist and I spent less money on myself than perhaps most others, although it was ever my ambition to keep the best company; and having so fortunate whilst in the Grace Cutter, to have been sent over by the Admiralty to Dive in Normandy to bring over the Right Honourable Hans Stanley,[132] who had been employed to settle the Preliminaries of the Peace of Paris,[133] which the Duke of Bedford[134] afterwards confirmed, became the foundation of an acquaintance, which rapidly grew into Intimacy and at length into a very strict Friendship for each other, which ended only by his death in 1780. Mr. Stanley became also Governor of the Isle of Wight, and having a fine place in Hampshire called Paultons,[135] I passed much of my time with him There, where he had constant company, as I did also at his house in Privy Garden,[136] in both which, appartments were allotted me after his nephew Mr. Sloane[137] married, and they became vacant.

1770 In the summer of this year I accompanied Mr. Stanley abroad, chiefly with a view of seeing Holland, the Low Countries and the North of Germany, and happening to learn from the British

Minister Sir Wm. Gordon[138] at Brussels that a Press[139] had broke out in London I quitted my Friend Stanley and made the best of my way to Ostand and Dunkirk when arriving at the hotel at the latter Place in the Evening, I was informed that there was in the House the Master of a vessel Enquiring if any person was going across the water. I therefore gave up proceeding to Calais for the Packet, and embarked onboard a fine Cutter of about 40 Tons, the Master assuring me that he would land me at Dover before the Morning.

The weather was squally with the wind at SWward and being perfectly without any apprehension of any danger, and being much fatigued with travelling, I layed myself down on the Masters bed and slept most soundly until waked by the violent noise and confusion on deck and blowing violently hard; and such a scene presented itself on my getting upon deck as I shall never forget.

The Mainsail was split in shivers, and the crew, attempting to get their 3rd Gibb in, but being all drunk and quarreling with one another the whole scene was confusion which was a little encreased when Breakers were discovered on the Lee Bow, and a strong tide running directly upon them, we struck so violently that none could stand without holding. In this dilemma I took the command upon me, and declared that the first man that disobeyed my orders whould be thrown over Board. Several other

gers had now made their appearance and supported my . The cry of the sailors was, cut away the lashings Boat and try to save ourselves, The Master was for away the Mast. Both which I opposed, and directed Gibb to be hoisted whenever the Vessel lifted with the and by this endeavour of keeping the wind right aft, about 1/2 an hour the Cutter Beat over the Shoal, and ter smoothend, when the anchor was dropped, which to at Joy brought her up in 4 1/2 fathoms water.

The Companion of the Cabin was then opened, when the appeared up to the Cabin Bedplaces; and it was not 'til then that I discovered my embarkation to be a Smuggler, laden with Brandy and Gin intended to be landed between stone and Dover; that the wind had shifted soon after went to sleep, to the NWward unknown to the Master, who as drunk as any of his People. The main hatchway was opened; some of the Casks stove for Buckets and all hands, gers and all, fell heartily to work to bale out the , in aid of the Pumps, when in the space of 2 or three we perceived had so considerably diminshed that we no longer in fear of the danger of sinking; but had not vessel been a very strong one, she must have gone to with the hard thumps she got, for above an hour upon oal we had beat over.

When daylight appeared we found ourselves near the [illegible] grounds off Harwich, and that we had been upon a [illegible] well known by the name of the Cork Rocks, our escape therefore had been quite extraordinairy.--Several Colliers being at anchor at no great distance, the cutters Boat put me and my servant onboard one of them, and the Master was obliging enough when I made myself known to him, to land me in his Boat at Harwich.

On my arrival in town at 8 in the evening, I drove to Lord Howe's House, when to my great joy I learnt from his Lordship, that a great Promotion of Flag Officers[140] had taken place which had included himself; that a war was likely to be declared against Spain, that he had kissed hands for the Mediterranean Command,[141] and that my name had been given into the Admiralty for the command of the Barfleur,[142] a new 90 Gun ship, which was fitting at Chatham for his Flag.

December 1770 The next day I took up my Commission and before the Middle of January we had reached Spithead, where the Fleet was assembling, and as Rear Admiral Lord Howe's Fleet consisted only of 15 Sail of the Line, and the Rules of the Service not allowing a Captain of the Fleet under 20 Sail, that duty devolved upon myself;[143] and my

Admiral continued in Town. By every Nights Post I received confidential letters from him the substance of which acquainted me, that our Expedition was to be accompanied with a considerable Land Force, and would be destined against Ferrol, and that we should sail immediately when the war should be determined upon, and which now only was delayed for our ambassadors next dispatch from Madrid.[144]

However before the end of March, the Spanish Government thought fit to acknowledge their Error, in respect to what had happened at Falklands Islands,[145] and wishing to avoid a Rupture, made a satisfactory Rescript to the British Court, which occasioned the Expedition to be abandoned, the Fleet to be reduced to a Peace Establishment, and his Lordship's Flag to be struck.

The Barfleur however continued at Spithead as a Guardship, and I received orders to bear the Flag of the Port Admiral, Pye,[146] July 1771 However this inactive situation not agreeing with my Inclination I wrote to my friend Lord Sandwich that I would readyly resign the Barfleur, for a Frigate to go aboard; accordingly Sir Peter Parker,[147] then one of the senior Captains on the list,[148] was appointed to succeed me, and I received a Commission for the Arethusa Frigate of 32 Guns, then a crack ship from her great superiority of Sailing, and my intended Station was to have been the Mediterrannean.

But previous to the Ship being ready for the Sea, Captain Jervis,[149] the present Earl St. Vincent in the Alarm persuaded me to change stations with him, and I joined the North American Command under Vice Admiral Montague.[150]

1772 Whilst on this station I not only Visited all the Great Towns of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Williamsburg, in Virginia and Charles Town, Carolina,[151] but made myself thoroughly acquainted with all the Principal and leading Men in most parts of the country and Passing most of this time in Virginia[152] with the Earl of Dunmore[153] then Governor of that Domain, as they called it, I had an opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with General Washington,[154] who was a leading man in the House of Assembly; and this period, being after the resistance of the Americans to the Stamp Act,[155] I found the debates interesting enough to occasion my passing many days among them; and to observe with perfect certainty, that they only waited for a pretence and opportunity to throw off what they called the British Yoke.[156]

1773 The Station being ended, I returned in November, to Portsmouth when the Arethusa was paid off and layed up in ordinary.[157]

I then resumed my former habits of residing at my cottage in the Isle of Wight with my Father and Sister, and

occasionally with my much esteemed Friend Mr. Stanley and his little Party both at his own Houses, and at water Places at Cheltenham, Brighton &c. until the Summer of 1775 when being on a Tour with the latter into North and South Wales, I received a summons from the Secretary of the Admiralty[158] to attend that Board.

Coercive measures being determined on against the Americans, on their destroying the Ship with the tea at Boston[159] considerable reinforcements were sent out to General Gage[160] then at Boston as well as a considerable increase to the Squadron under Admiral Shuldham[161] and I was informed by Lord Sandwich[162] First Lord of the Admiralty that in consequence of the knowledge that I had acquired on my late Station in America, I was now called upon to exert myself in assisting to bring them to a sense of their Errors in their resistance which they appeared to meditate against the Mother Country. Accordingly I was appointed to command the Roebuck,[163] a fine new ship built at Chatham on a new Plan of Sir Thomas Slade's,[164] for a stout Frigate, to carry 44 Guns on Two decks, with a compliment of 300 Men.

July 1775 This ship was expeditiously fitted out, and in the Month of November I arrived at Halifax in Nova

Austria,[165] when I found the war with the Americans had actually commenced; the British Army being Blockaded at Boston,[166] and several of the Northern Ports having fitted out Privatiers.[167]

My first service was to command a small Squadron of Frigates and Sloops, on the coast of Virginia and Pennsylvania,[168] with orders to proceed up the Delaware, to destroy the armed Craft on that River, to remove the Obstructions,[169] placed in it to impede the Navigation, and to threaten the city of Philadelphia with destruction if they continued their Hostilities against the Mother Country.

It may not be unnecessary to state that the above mentioned orders were accompanied by a Private Letter from the Admiral, acquainting me that from his Information such Obstructions, Chevaux de Frizes, frames of strong Timber shod with Iron pointed upwards an invention of Dr. Franklyn,[170] were already placed in the Delaware River, and which were defended by such Batteryes and armed craft, that it would be next to impossible for me to obey the orders he sent me, which were a litteral copy of what had been sent to him from Lord Dartmouth,[171] then Secretary of State for the Colonies. But that he was well assurred whatever was possible, would be effected in my hands!

Accordingly I proceeded[172] with the Liverpool Frigate a Sloop and an armed Cutter, which were the first of my Squadron[173] then joined me, to put these orders into Execution, and sailed up as far as Wilmington within 30 miles of Philadelphia, where I came to anchor and sent Lieutenant Jno. Cade[174] onshore with a Flag of Truce, to convey to Governor Penn,[175] the dispatches I had for him from Government; but in a short time, it was seen from the Mast Head that the Rivers Flotilla were under full sail coming down to engage us.

Within two Hours the firing commenced.[176] The River was not wider than the Thomas at Gravesend, and as the wind blew right down, with the Tide of Flood, we were enabled to keep the Ships in regular order of Battle, and prevent the Galleys from ever getting below us, which was their great object. But in general they kept at a long Shot distance and after about three hours action, and seeing they could make no apparent impression upon the ships, but shot holes in their sails, and four of the Galleys being obliged to put on shore to prevent their sinking, they thought proper to retire up the River as far as the Tide would enable them to do, and being then nearly dark I made the signal to Anchor, and concluded they would retire up the River on the next Tide.[177]

However next morning I found they, or the major part of them, had not moved; and as the wind had changed in the night and now blew up the River we weighed anchor and made all sail toward them; but unfortunately the wind was light, and with their oars and sails we neared them so slowly, that being apprehensive if we proceeded up to the narrow part of the River, where Mudd Island and Billingfort were so strongly fortified, and which would be aided by so formidable a Flotilla, we should only endanger the Ships without the least possible hope, unless assisted by a land force, to make any impression on the Town of Philadelphia. I therefore again anchored the Squadron just below the Town of Chester, about 9 oclock being then scarce half flood, but without furling the sails, Intending to drop down at high water, into a wider part of the River, where we could be better enabled to defeat the purpose of the Fire rafts, which all the deserters agreed in informing us were prepared to come down.

But long before high water so great a concourse of People were assembling on the South Shore, which is high land, that it became evident another attack of the Flotilla was meditated; and on the turn of the Tide they made their appearance, with an encreased number of half Galleys or Row Boats.

Accordingly at high water the Squadron weighed, and the wind still blew up River, we kept turning down, under an easy sail, just sufficient to have the Ships under proper Command, and generally tacking in a Regular line of Order; always taking care to let none of the Galleys get below us, and occasionally bearing down upon them to get them into closer action, which it seemed to be their object to avoid as much as possible. However we had the satisfaction to see three of the Galleys sink; several put ashore to repair damages, and before the Tide was spent, which was not till it was quite dark, there was not above half their number that continued any fire--we continued on to a proper anchorage; and the next day I sailed to the Chesapeake,[178] leaving the Liverpool and the Schooner to block up the Delaware, and prevent any Ship from proceeding into it, or Escaping from it.[179]

In the two days engagement with the Flotilla, we lost in the Roebuck 5 Men killed and 15 wounded, the Liverpool not above half that number, and the Sloop only one, but had many wounded. As the enemys fire was chiefly intended to disable the Ships from getting out of the River, they fired high, by which the Top Masts Yards and sails were much cut, particularly the latter, which were all obliged to be shifted.[180]

By the accounts which reached us afterwards, the enemy acknowledged they lost above 50 Men in the action, that 6 of their Galleys were rendered useless, and that one of their Schooners which they called a floating Battery was obliged to run ashore to prevent her sinking.[181] One of their half Galleys deserted and came over to us. The Master whose name was Gilbert,[182] became afterwards a most useful Pilot and assistant, when Lord Howe and his Brother the General made their successful attack on Philadelphia and the Batterys on the River 2 years after. He died Master attendant at DeptFord.

Soon after this action with the Rebel Flotilla, The Congress declared the Independance of America from the Government of Great Britain, and assumed the consequence of a separate Nation by the Title of the United States of America. The Kings Governors of the several 13 Provinces were driven from their Seats, and took refuge onboard Ships.[183] The Town of Norfolk in Virginia was burnt by the Rebels, and all the loyal Inhabitants and Merchants having taken shelter on-board their own ships to the amount of several Hundred Families, put themselves under the protection of the Earl of Dunmore Governor of that Province; who having a part of the 14 Regiment of Foot sent to him for his security; and had raised a

Corps of Voluntiers under the name of the Queens Rangers to the number of about 200 Men were living onboard transports in the Elizabeth River.[184]

In this situation I found his Lordship and the loyal Inhabitants, upon my arrival in Virginia; without Provisions or water; with an active enterprizing Enemy at their back,[185] erecting batterys to drive them out of the River; no time was therefore to be lost. The whole fleet looked to me for Protection.[186] None could be afforded to them with any reasonable chance of success, I therefore removed the whole to the number of 100 Sail, to Gwins Island at the Mouth of the Rappohannock River in the Chesapeake, where Lord Dunmore threw up Field Works for Protection,[187] which were soon destroyed by General Lee[188] who then there commanded the Rebel Forces, and we were obliged to move to the Mouth of the Potomack.[189]

By this time my Provisions became short, and being heartily tired of the predetary war, carried on by our little force merely for subsistance; and having Intelligence that Admiral Lord Howe[190] had arrived at New York with a considerable Squadron of Ships, conveying General Howe[191] with his army, I immediately took my determination to join the Admiral with my little Squadron, after disposing of the Merchant Fleet in

the best manner in my power, and by putting those Families whose Vessels could not be Navigated, for want of Seamen and Stores, into those which were fitted for Sea, supplying them with a proportion of Provision and Water, and giving their choice of going to the only 3 Places still belonging to the British Government: Halifax, Bermuda, and St. Augustine in East Florida. As the Act of Parliament[192] made no discrimination in the confiscation of American Property, all those Vessels might have been made Prize--several of them that chose to run to England, were taken and condemned in the Court of Admiralty. From Lord Dunmore I met with some opposition,[193] but was seconded by Mr. Eden[194] Governor of Maryland, who had taken shelter onboard my Ship, and after proceeding up the Potomack with a few ships to fill fresh water for the Fleet, the whole was dispersed under separate convoys, according to the Plan,[195] and I joined the Fleet, under Lord Howe in the middle of August;[196] just in time to take an active part in the very first opperations of the war against the American Congress. This commenced by the Army landing on Long Island,[197] where my Ship, the Roebuck and three others covered the disembarkation, and drove the enemy from their Entrenchments, after some formidable resistance.

The next day in the morning 27th August 1776 came on the Battle of Long Island, which being fought near the sea-shore, and the Roebuck being the advanced Ship, and the only one from her good sailing that could keep working against the ebb tide, was of considerable use in covering the Left Flank of the Army, and keeping up occasional firing on the enemy.[198] After New York was taken the Rebel General Washingtons army took up so strong a position at the White Plains, and were so well supplied in their entrenched Camp, by their proximity to the North or Hudsons River, that the British General, Sir Wm. Howe, found great difficulty in any attempt to dislodge them, unless their supplys of Provisions coming down the River could be cut off.[199]

On the Highlands of this River, and about 20 [14] miles above New York, very strong forts had been erected, Fort Washington on the New York side and Fort Lee on the Jersey shore, with Batterys extending from them along the water side with heavy cannon. The River about three quarters of a Mile wide had various obstructions of sunken vessels and chevaux de Frize sunk in the Channel, apparently from tide to tide, so as to make it understood that no ship could pass up. However as all operations at land were in a manner at a stand, the opening of this passage became of so much consequence that

the Admiral and General decided upon its being attempted.[200] Accordingly, my ship and two others were ordered for that service. It was three days before a favourable opportunity offered of fresh wind and a strong tide, when the passage was forced, with much less loss from the Batterys and Forts than could well be expected, not losing more than 4 Officers and about 25 men in the three ships, Phoenix, Roebuck, Tatar, and twice that number wounded,[201] my first Lieutenant James Watt[202] being one of the former.

This service gave a new turn to the Campaign and the operations proceeded with Rapidity. The Enemy were driven across the North River into the Jerseys,[203] followed by a large part of the Army under Lord Cornwallis.[204]

Under Earl Cornwallis, with whom I received immediate orders[205] to cooperate, by proceeding to the Delaware with a small squadron of Frigates under my Command, and be in readyness to cross his army over to the Pennsylvania shore.[206] In a very few days I found myself on my station. No opperations of the Army however did take place to prevent Washington and the Rebel Army getting into Philadelphia that year!; and after remaining in the Delaware until the Ice set in, I proceeded with my squadron to the West Indies, according to my orders, to refit my ships at Antigua, and returned to the coast of America in April of the next year and resume my station.[207]

During the three months we were in the West Indies the squadron took several American Prizes; and on my return to my station in the Delaware, I took a Charles Town Privatier by the stratagem of disguising the ship so as to be taken for a three decked West India Man. The Privatier after taking some pains to reconoitre us, actually ran up alongside, and was in the attempt to board, when the Marines rose up and pointed their Musquets into him, which made the Captain call out lustily for quarter, and which being granted, not a single offensive act took place in the capture. She was a stout Brig carrying 20 Guns and 115 Men and sailed remarkably well. I put my First Lieutenant Mr. John Orde, now the Admiral of that Name to command the Prize, and sent him with my dispatches to Lord Howe in New York informing him of my arrival on the Coast, who received Mr. Orde, on my recommendation, on board his Flagship the Eagle, and took the Privatier into the Kings Service.[208]

On making Cape Henlopen I discovered Admiral Hothams[209] Flag who had been cruizing there for the month past,[210] and as I found that he did not think himself authorized to quit the Station to me until he should receive further orders from the Commander in Chief Lord Howe,[211] He at my request came with his Flag to my ship, and sent his own 50 Gun Ship into

New York to repair some damage she had sustained. The next day on clearing up of a Fogg, a large Merchant Ship appeared standing into the River Delaware under full sail, we endeavoured to cut her off from the entrance, which we effected; but she still continued her course for the shore, and having a small sand bar between us, the detour we were obliged to make, prevented our stopping her, not withstanding the incessant Fire she received from our Broadside as she passed; and no sooner did she strike the ground then the crew run out to the boats Sprit end and jumpd over Board; when she blew up with a most terrible explosion, forming a column of liquid Fire to great height, and then spread into a head of black smoke, showering down burnt pieces of wood &c which coverd a space round about, for near 1/2 a mile on the water, that included our ship and the Boats, which were endeavouring to prevent her running ahore, but no Person was hurt by the fall--This ship was a great loss to Washingtons Army, as she was loaded with arms and clothing from France, with 35 Tons of Gun Powder contained in a magazine built for the occasion. This explosion was not only heard at Philadelphia, 60 Miles off, but many windows were broke in the City by the shock. All the Roebucks windows were compleatly smashd, not being much more than the length of a Cable from the explosion; Not a Vestige of the Ship appeared after it was over.[212]

1777 In a short time after Admiral Hotham left me in the Command,[213] and I received a confidential dispatch from Lord Howe informing me that it was Sir Wm Howe, the General and Commander in Chief's, intention to open the campaign with an attack upon Philadelphia;[214] and gave me secret orders to make every preparation possible to land the Army as high up the River as possible.

Accordingly every necessary measure was taken, that could be used for securing a safe Navigation, without giving suspicion of our intention to the Enemy, and I undertook to assure the Admiral in the Course of a week, wind and tide serving, I would engage to land the Army, above Newcastle, in any day that they should appear early in the Morning, at the Mouth of the River, being sufficiently prepared by experienced People in Boats and small Vessels carrying Flags that would mark the Shoals; so that both Men of War and Transports might safely run up without Pilots.

In this state of preparation, and anxious Expectation for the arrival of the Expedition I remained upwards of three weeks, at length at day break in the morning of the July,[215] the whole Fleet with 18,000 Troops in Transports appeared within 2 Leagues of the Lighthouse with a fine Northeasterly wind, and within an hour of Low Water. A finer

opportunity of runing up the River never offerd. All my small vessels and Boats with their different Flags to mark the Channel were immediately detached; but how mortified I was on going onboard the Admiral at 7 in the morning, the Fleet lying too, and finding the General still in his Bed—about 1/2 past 8 however, after having shewed himself to the General Officers &c upon the Quarter Deck, I was summoned into Lord Howe's Cabin, where the General required me to furnish him with every information I had collected respecting General Washingtons Army, and the state of preparation which the Enemy had made upon the River to prevent his proceeding up. Washington I stated to him was encamped upon the heights of the Brandy Wine, in what was considered as the best Position for defending the City of Philadelphia, and his force was supposed to be 15 or 16 thousand Man[216]—That the defense of the River consisted of Row Galleys and floating Batterys which our Frigates would easyly displace, and that at, and above Newcastle, no regular works had been Erected,[217] but there were many Guns mounted in open Fleche's[218] for the annoyance to Ships running up the River, but which would certainly be abandond was any force landed behind them. The General then took the Admiral into the Stern Gallery for a short time, to consider, as I

conjectured, upon the particular place of landing; but to my astonishment they told me, that since there was no doubt that the Enemy was apprized of the plan of the Expedition, the General said, it confirmed him to his design of landing his army at the Head of Elk in the Chesapeak, rather than the Delaware,[219] as by that means he should cut off the Enemy from their Magazines at York and Lancaster.[220] In vain did I state to him the great length of time it would take to make such a detour with so large a fleet, contrasted with the immediate opportunity of getting the whole army ashore in 24 Hours, within 30 Miles of the Capital, but all to no purpose, The General seemed resolved, and the Admiral would not oppose him; and to the astonishment of both Fleet and Army,[221] the signal was made to turn away, and steer for the Capes of Virginia.[222]

On enquiring what Pilots they had for the upper part of the Chesapeak Bay, I found that there were none that were much acquainted with that Navigation above Baltimore, as it was only used by very small Vessels, nor was there any particular plan found, that gave any directions more than what is laid down in the large Chart of the Chesapeak. This of course made the attempt appear to me to be most hazardous, and should it not be attended with success, must inevitably

so much censured. I therefore thought it incumbent upon me, from the sincere affection I bore to the Admiral, altho I did not approve of the measure, to offer my Service to go with the Expedition and do everything in my power to promote its success. This being accepted, I went back to the Delaware, to call in all my small Vessels &c, and leaving the command of the Port to a single Frigate, carried with me the rest of the small craft and all my Pilots, and joined Lord Howe's Fleet next Morning, then not advanced above 15 Leagues. The light Southerly winds having commenced, Never was a more tedious passage. The numbers of Transports were so immense and unmanagable from the light and contrary winds, that what we gained in the day, we generally lost in the night; so that altho the distance to the Capes of Virginia might with a fair wind have been run in a Couple of days, we were above two weeks in accomplishing it.[223]

However at length there was an appearance of getting a part of the Fleet into the Chesapeak, when the Admiral called me onboard, by Signal, and gave me the charge of Conducting the Fleet to the Head of Elk or as far up as depth of water could be found. Accordingly I collected a number of small Vessels and Boats, and placed them for the purpose of marking the Shoals; and sailing up with others in a semi-

circle about 2 Cables length ahead of the Ship, each Boat making known the depth of water, which being entered down onboard the Ship, a compleat chart was made up to the height that any Vessel drawing 9 feet of Water could sail in: and where no Square Riggd Vessel had ever before navigated in the last 50 Miles.[224]

Fortunately the wind became favourable for the Fleet after they had entered the Chesapeak Bay and in 3 days, the disembarkation of the Troops took place 140 Miles from the Sea, under my chief direction.[225]

Information soon reached the General that the Rebel army under Washington, were so confident of their strong Position on the Heights of the Brandy Wine, that, notwithstanding the British Army having got into their Rear there was no appearance of their moving.[226] Sir William Howe therefore determined to force their Entrenchments, but before he could venture to give them Battle, he stated to the Admiral that he must be certain, before that took place, of having a Naval force, with sufficient Provisions at Newcastle in the River Delaware, as a place of retreat in case of accident. This service the Admiral allotted to me, but required my statement upon the best Judgement I could form, how long it would take me to get around with the Victuallers--

my answer was that it could not be expected in less than ten days, from the heavy sailing of the Victuallers, especially as there was little chance of any fair Wind until we got into the Sea. This was a great omission in the Commander in Chief, not having considered the possible want of this Resource before the Fleet left the Mouth of the Delaware, when a sufficient Magazine might have been established then.[227]

This answer was sent to Head Quarters by a Party of Dragoons waiting for it; and a reply was returned the next day, stating that on the tenth day, the Enemy should be attacked, which was accordingly done. By great Perseverance I reached Newcastle on the 10th August the very day I was expected,[228] and soon after Day Light heard the Cannon of the Engagement which lasted the greatest part of the day; and at 9 in the Evening I received a letter written by the Generals confidential aid de camp, on the Drum Head, on the Field of Battle in the following words:

My Dear Sir-- Victory Victory Brandy

Wine Heights August 10

I am directed by the General to inform you that we have gained a most compleat and decisive Victory over the whole of the Rebel army under Washington. They are flying in all quarters after infinite Slaughter--our Army has also sufferd, and the whole of our

wounded and Hospitalized Sir William Howe dispatches to your Care and Protection, as he and Lord Cornwallis are in pursuit of the Enemy.[229]

Accept my congratulations

Ever Yours J. Montresor.[230]

The next day an immense number of waggons with the wounded arrived, among whom was Sir William Meadows[231] who commanded the Grenadiers and B[rigadier] General Harris[232] &c. &c. My whole attention for some time therefore was taken up to see them properly taken care of--News then soon reached me that Lord Cornwallis had got Possession of Philadelphia,[233] I then moved up the River, and drove the armed craft, among which was the Virginia Frigate of 32 Guns, before me, when the Galleys took shelter under the Batterys of Mud Island, a strong Fortification in the middle of the River,[234] and the Frigate, in attempting in the night to slip past the Town, was stopped and taken by the Army. This gave me the opportunity of appointing my First Lieutenant to the Command of her, and with the foundation of 50 Seamen and Marines from the Roebuck she was soon equipped as an effective Ship of War.[235]

Lord Howe and his Fleet soon after arrived in the Delaware,[236] but not before I had taken the Fort of Billingsport,

with the assistance of the 42d Regiment which upon my application Sir William Howe sent to act under my orders.[237]

The Reducing Mud Island and its dependencies, however, became a more serious business, and took the Admiral and General upwards of a month before it was effected--on the first attempt to move the ships toward it, the Augusta, Lord Ducie,[238] having grounded, the heavy fire from the Batterys and Galleys were opened upon her and the Roebuck, the latter being in the Act of assisting in getting her afloat, when she took fire, and in ten minutes the Flames reached the Mast Head. All firing then ceased on my part. Our whole attention being taken up to save the Augusta's People by our Boats, which except such of the sick as could not help themselves I was fortunate enough to effect altho under the heavy fire of 15 Galleys the whole time. The Captain Reynolds, afterwards Lord Ducie, was in the act of sinking when my Barge saved him, as more than half the Ships Company were taken out of the water so rapid were the Flames.[239]

In the week following a general Attack both by the Fleet and the Army was made on Mud Island, which from the Nature and manner of its being fortified, became an extremely difficult operation; On the land Side the low marshes were such, as did not allow of Batterys to be erected within a

proper distance,[240] and obstructions called Cheveux de Frize, were laid in the River, 5 or 600 yards from the Island Batterys, to prevent ships being placed within that distance. This was the invention of the famous Dr. Franklin, and from the nature of their Construction, being Built with very strong frames of Timber, shod with pointed Iron, and not visable even at Low water, became very formidable.[241] The three ships appointed to make the attack, were the Somerset Captain Oury[242] of 70 Guns, the Isis of 50 Guns Captain Cornwallis[243] and the Roebuck of 44--my own ship. Capt. Cornwallis and myself employed ourselves in Sounding, and endeavouring to find out openings in the Cheveux de Frize where we might place our Ships to advantage. This was done frequently under Fire from the Forts and Galleys, and not observing that Captain Oury, nor any person from his Ship did the same, we placed a Buoy where we thought the Somerset with her 32 Pounders could annoy the Fort.

The Admiral who lay with the rest of his Fleet off Chester, about 20 Miles farther down the River fitted out a large North Country built Transport called the Vigiliant with 18 Twenty four Pounder Guns, keeping her to as light a draft of water as possible, This Ship he put into Commission and

gave the Command to Captain Henry[244]--On the South side of Red Island there was a channel, which though nearly dry at low water, Galleys at high Tide had been sent down to annoy our Ships; In this channel it was intended to place the Vigiliant to flank the Batteries but it was only during the Hour at Highwater that she could be moved; when having got her with great difficulty more than half way up the Channel the day for the general attack was accordingly fixed upon and notice sent up to the Senior Officer, Captain Oury, that it would take place the next day at 10 in the Morning.[245]

This being made known to us, I thought it right to go on Board the Somerset, to inform myself how the attack by Sea was to be conducted, not having received any directions as to the placing my own Ship, altho both Cornwallis and myself had placed Buoys where we should drop our Stern Anchors, in case no general orders should be given.

My Surprise was certainly great when Captain Oury informed me, that he could give me no directions That on the Receipt of the Admirals letter, he had returned an Answer, saying that "his Ship was perfectly ready for Action, and should make the attack at the hour Mentioned, but desired he might be furnished with a Pilot to move and place his Ship."

Guessing what would be Lord Howe's situation when he should receive this answer, I determined to go down to him; when, as I expected, I found him in a great Rage, and in the act of superseeding our Officer, who could have lain near a week within 2 miles of the Fort he was going to attack, and not having informed himself and the Captains of the other Ships, of the anchorage each should take up.

What is to be done, said the Admiral, in this dilemma? The Army will be in the Boats at 8 in the Morning ready to storm, after the ships and the Vigilant floating Battery, have in a degree silenced the Enemys fire, and it is now too late to make any alteration. To which I replyed I will go back to Captain Oury and let him know that you have no Pilot to send him, not having expected that he would require any; but that he might take the Captain of the Roebuck or his Master to place his Ship, which of course relieved the Admirals mind, who directed me accordingly to do so.

I omit stating the particulars of the action the next day; suffice it to say, that Captain Oury chose the Master of the Roebuck to place his ship against the fort, rather than the Captain; and that in about 4 Hours incessant firing, from the Ships and the floating Battery, which enfiladed a part of the Enemys Works, Mud Island, and its appendages, surrendered to the Ships, before any of the troops attempted to land.

This was a most fortunate Circumstance for the Army, as from a strong chain having been fixed not visible above water, no Boat could have reached the Shore within it, and which was about 50 yards distance from it and in 7 or 8 feet water. So that if the attempt to storm the Works had been made, every Man in the Boats would have been destroyed.[247]

Sir George Osborn[248] Baronet commanded the Storming Party, Captain Oury was much censured by the Admiral for his Conduct; but such was the phlegmatic manner in which the Naval Service was conducted at that Period that Rear Admiral Drake[249] and several Old Officers at that time, gave their decided opinion, that a Captain had nothing to do in the movement of his Ship in Pilot water. Thank God that doctrine has been long Exploded!!!!!!!!!

The Capture of Mud Island, occasioned the abandonment of all the other defenses of the River,[250] and in consequence of orders, I sailed up to the City of Philadelphia in the Roebuck, with the Frigates and Transports. Soon after, the Admiral, with all the Ships of the Line sailed to winter at Rhode Island, and left me to cooperate with the General, against the Enemy, until the return of the Fleet in the spring of next year.[251]

I had now a new scene opened to me. Having not less than 25 Pendants, Frigates and Sloops, and upwards of 250 Sail of Transports under my command all of which were expected to be put in order for service in the spring; and to be in the meantime in constant readyness to afford assistance to the Army, which was a degree of Responsibility, seldom I believe entrusted to so young a Captain.

Philadelphia, 1777. And here it may be necessary to observe that altho the General Sir William Howe K. B.[252] might be considered in some degree to be in Winter Quarters, with his army of 25 thousand Men, British and Germans, yet as the Rebel General Washington, his opponent, lay with his army of Americans within 14 or 15 Miles of the city, and had detachments in various situations, one on the North side of the Delaware, all the Departments of the Army were kept on the alert; as was also the Navy, as far as moving or Victualing the Troops might occasion[253]—But as in all great Garrisons a considerable degree of Disruption frequently prevails, such was the case here to a great Extent, throughout the whole winter, Every Officer of Rank being provided with a furnished House, and giving frequent Entertainments.[254] My situation therefore as commanding the Navy became the more arduous, and althe' I may take credit to myself for

keeping out of it as much as possible, Yet in order to preserve a good understanding between the Army and Navy, and keep up the consequence of the latter, I was under the necessity of keeping a Table, and enterd into an agreement with the General to give me one day in the week to meet the Sea Officers, with such of his own he chose to bring, to dine and pass the Evening at my House. This he readyly consented to do; and altho' it was of course attended with a considerable expense, yet I am persuaded nothing contributed more to preserve the good Harmony which subsisted the whole of the time between the two Services, until the return of the Commander in Chief which was about 4 Months.

April, 1778. Early in April the Admiral Lord Howe returned, with the Ships of the Line, in to the Delaware, and himself came up to the Town;[255] when I had the satisfaction to receive from him, in the presence of the General, his most perfect approbation of my conduct during his absence, in the very responsible situation he was pleased to say in which he had found it necessary to place Me.

The first Packet from England brought out the Generals permission to return home,[256] and General Sir Henry Clinton[257] was appointed Commander in Chief. As the former was a great favourite and very popular with the Army, a great Fete was

given to him before he embarked, which as it consisted of great variety of Spectacles and Amusements was termed the Mesquienza; and which was made up with all that Ingenuity could invent, and be produced, from the Combinations of a great River, a large and Populous Town under Martial Law, with an assembled Army and Navy, and fine weather; and being planned and conducted by some very able young Men, nothing was neglected to render it as unique and gay as possible.[258] Previous to the fete called the Mesquienza I gave the General a Ball and supper onboard the Roebuck, where 200 Ladies and Officers sat down to supper and danced until Day light in the morning--the ship was hauled to the wharf for the occasion.

This scene of Festivity however was of short duration. Commissioners arrived from England,[259] consisting of the Earl of Carlisle,[260] Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland,[261] and Governor Johnson,[262] for the purpose as it was understood of endeavouring to make a Peace with America on any terms, short of separation.[263] But alas! They came too late, their proposals were no sooner laid before the Congress, than they were rejected,[264] having just before received an account of the French Court having espoused their cause.[265] This was soon confirmed by the arrival of a Packet from England, bring-

Information that a French Fleet of 12 Sail of the Line, having onboard 5000 Troops, under the Command of Monsieur D'Estaing[266] had sailed from Toulon for America to assist in Establishing its Independence.[267]

The consequence of this new Power engaging in the War,[268] a Reinforcement of 15 Sail of the Line under the Command of Vice Admiral Byron[269] was sent from England with orders, to Evacuate Philadelphia;[270] and to send 5000 Troops to secure the West India Islands.[271]

These orders were promptly put into Execution.[272] Commodore Hotham sailed with the West India detachment,[273] Lord Howe sailed with the Fleet and Transports to New York, and General Clinton marched with the army towards New York, whom General Washington gave him Battle, but altho' beat with great loss, the Victory came to no account whatever.[274]

The station allotted to me was to look out for the expected French Fleet, and to give notice to all Ships arriving, of the Evacuation of the Delaware.[275]

Three days had scarely elapsed, before one of my Cruizers commanded by Lieutenant Knight, now Admiral,[276] made the signal for having seen the Enemy, standing in for the land to make the Capes of Virginia. With this Intelligence, after having stationed a line of small Vessels to bring

further intelligence of the Enemys Motives, I proceeded to join the Admiral at New York, who immediately [made] the best disposition in his power with his little Fleet, not having as yet been joined by Byrons Squadron, to meet the expected attack of Monsieur D'Estaing; who he thought, from his superiority of Force, might be likely to sail at once over the Bar of New York, and dedeavour to drive our ships on shore. His Lordship therefore availed himself of the Transports Men to strengthen the Ships Crewws, fitted a number of small Vessels as Fireships, and made the best Line of Defense the anchorage admitted of.[277]

The next Morning but one, the French Fleet appeared off the Bar at Sandy Hook, and as they passed several Hours in manuvering, during the Flood Tide, and then bore down toward us in order of Battle, we fully expected an attack; but to our great surprize they came to anchor outside the Bar, leaving only the strip of sand, on which the Light House is placed, between the Two Fleets; and in point of distance between each other, not more than three miles at most; but without the least communication.[278]

In this situation the two Fleets continued for 5 or 6 days and as the Enemy Boats appeared to be sounding we were in daily expectation of their coming in at each High water,

especially as the wind continued favourable for their purpose, but at length, on the Easterly wind freshening, they double reefed their Topsails, and got under weigh and beat out of the Bay, and made the best of their way to Rhode Island.[279]

Two days after the Cornwall of 74 Guns, one of Byrons Squadron arrived at New York; by which we learned that they had been all early separated by a violent Gale of wind; and the Cornwall had been alone ever since and could give no account of the Admiral.--

With this Reinforcement, and as soon as the Cornwall could be supplied with water, her Sick taken out and her crew encreased to her full compliment, Lord Howe put to sea in search of the French Fleet.[280]

Our force consisted of 11 Sail in all Viz, one 74--five 64--three fiftys and two 44s with a single Frigate--with several Galleys and fireships.

In two days, we arrived in the Evening off Rhode Island, and saw the French Fleet there at anchor. At sunrise in the morning they were seen coming out to give us Battle and consisted of 12 Sail of the Line, two only of which were 64 Guns--as the wind blew offshore Lord Howe formed his Line of Battle ahead, with the heaviest Ships in the

Rear and stood off to sea to get an offing; that being accomplished he hauled up towards the Starboard Tack, 2 points at a Time, until he got by this manner the weather-gage of the Enemy; He then brought too and shifted his Flag into the Apollo Frigate, and made the signal to prepare for action. But before it could well be made, a Violent Squall came so suddenly, that both Fleets were obliged to attend wholly to the immediate safety of the Ships, by not only reefing their Topsails, but taking them in, as the Gale grew more and more Violent, and thick weather Ensueing, with the sea rising the Fleets soon became separated, and we saw no more of them.[281]

Before the Evening came on it blew a Storm and only part of our Fleet were discernible from the Thickness of the weather. At this time the Admiral made the Signal of being in distress, but not in want of immediate assistance. This Signal was answered by the second in Command, Commodore Elliot[282] and many other Ships, and altho' it was seen immediately after, that the Apollo's Masts were over the side, one after the other, the Commodore made no attempt to keep the Fleet together, or give orders for any of us to stay by the disabled Commander in Chiefs Ship--By this neglect a total separation of the Fleet took place and in

the Morning scarce any two Ships were seen together. For my part I considered it an Imperative duty to stick to the disabled Ship, and no signal being made from the Commodore, bore away and kept as close to the Apollo, as the Violence of the storm and high sea would admit, and soon after Sir Hyde Parker[283] in the Phoenix followed my Example. All the Forenoon of the next day, there was little abatement of the Gale, but towards Noon it began to abate and the weather clearred, but discovered none of the Fleet but our three Ships.

By 4 oclock in the afternoon it became so moderate, that seeing the miserable situation of the Admiral Lord Howe's Ship, which was rolling in the trough of the Sea, without a single stick standing, I resolved at attempting to release him. Accordingly after taking every necessary precaution for our own safety, I took a dozen Men in my double banked cutter, was hoisted out and got clear of the Ship without accident; Then by keeping the Boats head to the Sea, the dismasted Ship drove down upon us, and I got on-board by a Rope thrown from the Mizenchains.

I found the Admiral sitting by the Rudder Head to which he was lashed and the Ship in a deplorable situation; all the Half Ports washed out, and the sea running through and through the Cabin. He expressed much gratitude at my

coming to take him out, but thought it almost too hazardous to attempt getting into the Boat whilst the Ship had so much motion. However by this time Captain Pownall[284] had got a spar on the stump of the Main Mast, which by the help of a Top Gallant Sail kept her a little quiet which encouraged the Admiral to make the attempt, and at length I succeeded in not only getting him safe into the Boat without accident, but with him his Secretary and box of papers, and also General Balfour[285] who was a voluntier with his Lordship.

During this time the Phoenix had come in, between the Roebuck and Apollo, and as my object was to get the Admiral into safety as soon as possible, I asked him which ship he would chose to go onboard of, and as we were then close to the Phoenix, he very naturally wished not to pass her by; and I had soon the satisfaction of seeing him safely onboard her and his Flag hoisted on that Ship. By his orders in the course of that Evening I took the Apollo in Tow, and proceeded with the Rendezvous at New York where I found Commodore Elliot, Commodore Hotham, and two or 3 more of the Fleet, and in a few days after the Admiral arrived, with the remainder, which he picked up at Sea.[286]

The Gale which separated the Two Fleets, just at the moment when they were to commence the action, handed the French much more roughly than the English. Before we lost sight of them, the Topsails of several Ships were blowing From the Yards, and there was soon a total separation Monsieur D'Estaings Ship was entirely dismasted, and having been fallen in with one of our 50 Gun Ships, the Renown, was nearly taken by her. But the captain not promptly making use of the advantage he had over the dismasted ship, gave them time to recover the Panic which their Perilous situation had occasioned, and gave them time to drop an anchor; which by bringing Springs on the Cable allowed them to get so many Guns to bear on the 50 Gun Ship, that obliged him to retire.[287]

Measures were promptly taken to refit the Fleet, and having received Intelligence that most of the Enemys Ships had taken shelter at Boston, Lord Howe lost no time in proceeding toward that Port, although joined by only one more of Admiral Byrons Squadron.[288] When on arriving off that port, I was sent to reconoitre the situation in which the French lay in the Harbour, and returned to the Admiral with a Report, which was, that their ships did not appear to be in any position of defense; but were promiscously moored and seemed by the motions of some, as if the appearance of the

English Fleet so unexpectedly had caused much alarm; and therefore I was of the opinion that they might be attacked, with good prospect of success, if done immediately. But before anything could be well determined, Sir James Wallace[289] who had likewise been sent to reconoitre, and who had boarded a Boston Fishing boat, came on board the Admiral, with the Information that the French had been for several days expecting the English Fleet, and making every possible preparation for defending themselves; upon this Statement, and having no Troops to take any Position on Shore for giving succour to any of our Ships which might be disabled; together with the wind in the Morning not being favourable, the attack was given up; and his Lordship returned with the Fleet to New York;[290] where he found Admiral Byron arrived; To whom he gave up the Command,[291] and sailed forthwith to England in his own Ship the Eagle of 64 Guns[292]--His Lordship had always promised that he would not leave me behind, but as I was not present when he sailed, He did all he could, by desiring his successor[293] to send <u>my</u> ship home, on the first opportunity, which very soon occurred, and on the 1st of December 1778 I sailed from New York Having onboard the Commissioners who had been sent out to for an accomodation with the American Congress, but which, on the French taking part against us had totally failed.[294]

My Passengers were the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Auckland and his Lady, the Secretary of Embassy, Mr. Storer[295] and General Lord Cornwallis,[296] General Ross[297] and Colonel Brodrick[298] his Two Aid de camps, And the Escort was the Lizard Frigate and the Burne--The first commanded by the Honorable Captain C. Phipps[299] the latter by Captain Piere Williams[300]--Nothing particular occurred on the Voyage, but we had a tolerable good passage of three weeks, and arrived at Plymouth about the 22d, when having received orders from the Admiral then left in command at New York, Rear Admiral Gambier,[301] the Vice Admiral Byron having sailed to take the command of the Fleet in the West Indies,[302] to proceed immediately to Town with his dispatches on my arrival in England, I set off Post for London, and gave my first Lieutenant Drake[303] orders to proceed with the Roebuck to Spithead; and to the other Captains of the little Squadron to follow their former orders.

On presenting my Dispatches to the Earl of Sandwich, then first Lord of the Admiralty, a long conversation ensued, and many enquiries were made by his Lordship on the state of America, and the condition of the Ships I had left behind; and charged me to be ready to answer many questions on these subjects which the King would most likely put to me at the

Levee on Wednesday, where it was his Lordships intention to carry me with him to be presented to His Majesty for the Honor of Knighthood to be conferred upon me, which distinction he was pleased to say, I had fully earned by my zealous and beneficial service, from the commencement of the American War to the present time; That scarce a dispatch had arrived from the active part of the War, that did not make mention of some creditable exploit in which I had been engaged against the Enemy; and added, that the late Commander in Chief Lord Howe, on his arrival in England, had particularly desired I might receive this mark of favour from His Majesty. On the day appointed therefore I accompanied His Lordship to the Levee, where I was most graciously received by the King; and Lord Howe being present,[304] some flattering things were said of me, much more than I thought I deserved; and I came away Sir Andrew Snape.--[305]

January 1779. My Ship being ordered to Woolwich to be repaired, I left London at the end of a week, Joined her at Portsmouth, and in the course of three or four days arrived at Woolwich, where she was taken into Dock, and altho a new Ship in 1775, the greatest part of the top timbers were obliged to shifted from the damage received from shot holes-- Lord Sandwich, who shewed every disposition to oblige me,

made two of my Midshipmen Lieutenants, one of which is the present Admiral Sir Charles Tyler, KCB,[306] and would have made my nephew Mr. A. S. Douglas a Commander had he been old enough, but, altho my second Lieutenant,[307] he was then only 17 years of age.--His Lordship offered me one of three new 74 Gun Ships, then building in the River, and nearly ready for Launching, which I would readyly have accepted, if I could have had my Officers and Ships Company with me; but as that was contrary to an existing Rule at that time at the Admiralty, and I had too much value for them, being all Men of my own raising,[308]--I refused; and asked to have my own Ship the Roebuck sheathed with Copper, which after some difficulty was acceded to, as at that time the Jupiter a new 50 Commanded by the late Lord Barham,[309] was the only Ship in the whole Service that was copper, except the Alarm 32. In the former War, the Alarm Frigate had been copperd as an Experiment.[310]

On the 7th March I was married to Miss Ann Graeme, Daughter of Henry Graeme Esq.[311] of Hanwell Heath, of which Event, in this place I shall only say I have never had cause to repent, and who is the Mother of both my Children, Captain Graham Eden Hamond[312] and the Honorable Mrs. C. Hood.[313]

April 1779. The Roebuck being repaired, refitted, and coppered, I sailed down to Long Reach to take in the Guns &c, and being upon the point of sailing for Spithead, I received a Precept from the Speaker of the House of Commons, to attend at the Bar of that House the day following but one, to be examined on the Subject of the Conduct of General Sir William Howe, KB, and the Viscount Howe in the Prosecution of the War against the Americans, during the time those Officers Commanded in Chief.--A letter from Lord Howe also accompanied the Messenger, which informed me that himself and his Brother having earnestly sollicited an Enquiry into their Conduct, It had hitherto been refused them by the Ministry;[314] but things now having suddenly changed, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord George Germain,[315] had that night given Notice, that the Enquiry should be brought on immediately.[316] He, Lord Howe, had therefore procured the Precept from the Speaker, in order to prevent my being sent out of the way; as upon my Testimony which he was sure he could rely on, he should rest his defense, on some of the most important points, most likely to engage the attention of the House.[317]

Accordingly the Enquiry took place, and the opposition took part with the Commander in Chief, against the Ministry; wishing to throw the whole blame of the want of Success in the

War, entirely on the shoulders of Government. The Parties in the House never ran higher.[318] I was the first evidence called for by the Minister [?], and my Examination at the Bar lasted upwards of four Hours;[319] Lieutenant General Earl Cornwallis was the Next Examined; the House being in a Committee of the Whole House, Mr. Montague[320] being in the Chair.--As to the result of this Enquiry it turned out pretty much the same as things of that sort generally do, where People have before hand made up their Minds upon the subject;[321] and as the war against France had now become the object of attention in the Country,[322] the Public mind was diverted from the American contest, to the dispute, which subsisted between Admiral Keppel[323] and his Vice Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser[324] respecting the blame which attached to the last shameful battle with the French Fleet;[325] which each endeavoured to throw on the other,[326] but which, Party aside, could only be attributed to the Commander in Chief.[327]

The morning after the Enquiry I had a visit at my Lodgings in Rathbone Place--from Commodore Hotham.[328] [Twelve lines in the autobiography have been solidly inked out apparently by Hamond himself. Even the latest scientific methods do not reveal what is underneath].[329]

May 1779. My next destination being to return to the American Command, I received orders to proceed to Cork,[330] and take all the different convoys under my Command, and proceed with them certain Distances, as far as their way and mine should lay together, first proceeding 150 leagues to the Westward of Cape Clear before, I allowed of any separation as there was great reason to believe the combined Fleets of France and Spain were actually at Sea.[331]

I soon arrived at Cork and found there the East Indian, Mediteranean, Lisbon, West India, Jamaica and North America Convoys, to the number of 250 Sail assembled there under Captains, who had charge of the respective convoys--In a few days after my arrival I made my arrangements and gave out my Signals; when the wind becoming favourable I proceeded to Sea and the next day doubled Cape Clear with the whole Fleet; and altho there were some occasional Interruptions; in the course of 7 or 8 days I had got rid of all my convoys except the one intended for New York and Halifax which consisted of about 35 Sail.[332]

No Event of any consequence happened during the Passage, except that I was fortunate enough to take a large French Snow homeward bound laden with Rum and Sugar, which I carried with me, and arrived safe at New York without the loss of a

single Vessel of the Convoy:[333] when I put myself under the Command of Vice Admiral Arbuthnot,[334] who was then present, and received me with great kindness and attention.

During my absence, in England, the Americans from Boston and the Northern Ports had fitted out an Expedition against our Post at Penobscot, which had been frustrated by Commodore Sir George Collier[335] some months ago; But Intelligence was received by Admiral Arbuthnot that the Enemy was making a second attempt, and accordingly I was sent with a small Squadron of Frigates to that place for the purpose of destroying them, but on Arrival we found our Post there undisturbed.[336]

As this was the Principal River and Harbour in Main or Sagadahock, and not included in the 13 Revolted Provinces, the Chief Part of the Loyalists, foreseeing the Prospect of American Independance being Established, by the French and Spaniards having espoused their Cause, removed themselves and their Property to this Place; which abounds with the finest forests of wood for lumber as well as Masts,[337] conceiving that whenever Peace might take Place, they would find themselves an English Colony; and it was the ruin of thousands when in the year 1782 it turned out to be otherwise.[338]

On our return to New York[339] I found the General Sir H. Clinton[340] and the Admiral had determined to attempt the

Conquest of Charles Town,[341] which had been attacked by the former and Commodore Sir Peter Parker,[342] in the early years of the War, but without success, the Ships having lost many men and were much disabled against Fort Moultray [sic], which commands the passage up the River to the Town.[343]

December 1779 Accordingly Vice Admiral Arbuthnot with 8 Sail of the Line and 10 Frigates, together with about 18 thousand Troops in Transports assembled at Sandy Hook,[344] close to the Bar to wait a favourable opportunity to put to Sea, when a circumstance happened which had nearly thrown the whole Fleet at least into some confusion, had the Incendiary Plan not been early discovered.

As my orders were to lead the Fleet, my Ship was anchored a Cable or two length a Head of the Admiral, a fresh Breeze of wind set in from the Sea, and the tide of Flood running in, at the rate of 4 Knots an Hour; When an American Seaman a voluntier on the Ships Books, not only conceived the Idea, that if the advanced Ship was suddenly set on fire, she would inevitably, from the close position of the Fleet, drive into the midst of it, throw the whole into Confusion and perhaps by the means of rendering eminent service to his Country, but did actually attempt to put his Plan into Execution in the middle of the night.

This fellow had contrived to collect a quantity of combustibles into the Foretop, which he had put into the Staysails there, and sprinkled Tar and Gunpowder on the Foresail; and had actually got up with a lighted match, when a spark of fire fell down upon the Forecastle; which the Sentinel observed, and called out there was fire in the Foretop; the Lieutenant of the Watch not only called out to know if any person was there, but immediately ordered People aloft, who found the American in the very act of doing the Mischief, the sails being actually on fire, and it was also found that two strands of the cable were cut through by which the ship was riding.

The Rage of the Ships Company may be better conceived than described; there was actual difficulty in preventing them from tearing the wretch to Pieces. However he was at length secured on the Quarter Deck in Irons, when upon being interrogated, as to his motive, He said, as he had failed he knew his life was forfeited, and therefore declared he had made the attempt to serve his country. That fully believing that if the Roebuck had been set on fire, she must have inevitable have driven into the Body of the Fleet, which would have burnt many of the Ships, driven others onshore, and thrown the whole into such confusion that it might have

occasioned the Expedition against Charles Town to be set aside; and added that the impulse was so strong it was out of his Power to resist it.

The Admiral being acquainted with the circumstances, and receiving my Letter and application for a Court Martial on the Villain, gave immediate orders to Rear Admiral Drake[345] to assemble the Court, but instead of doing so, he sent his Secretary the Deputy Judge Advocate on board; to inform the prisoner of the charges against him, to know what Evidence he would call to his defense, and to prepare for his Tryal in 48 Hours!--Alas, before that time, the wind had come fair, and the Fleet were at sea, when no Court Martial could be held. So that the attrocious miscreant's life was unnecessarily prolonged, by the Rules it seemed of the Old School of the Navy.

Lieutenant General Earl Cornwallis and his Staff took their passage with me in the Roebuck.[346] The weather was extremely bad, the whole way, and we were, with the Admiral, about a month on our Passage to the Anchorage off Tybee[347] at the entrance to Savannah in Georgia, being the Rendezvous appointed in case of Separation; a Place rendered famous for having two years before foiled Count D'Estaing in an endeavour in vain to get possession of it, during a seige which lasted

8 weeks, with a Fleet of 11 Sail of the Line and 4 or 5 thousand French Troops under his command.[348] In the beginning of the attack Savannah was an open Town on all sides, and by the Extraordinairy ability of Colonel Moncreif,[349] the English Engineer, in most rapidly Erecting Field Works, against all the various attacks of the French Troops, the Enemy was never able to make the least impression upon the Place, and when D'Estaing thought proper to Embark his Troops and give up all further attempts on the Province, the Town of Savannah was compleatly surrounded by a chain of formidable redoubts.[350]

The Fleet, as well Men of War as Transports, having much separated during the Passage from New York, it became necessary to continue here for a week; by which time most of the missing Ships had arrived, except a very principle large Transport laden chiefly with Battering Cannon. However it did not delay the Fleet from proceeding to the mouth of The Edisto,[351] in the neighbourhood of Charles Town in South Carolina, where the General Henry Clinton and the Troops were landed without opposition, marched up the country and crossed the Ashley River 2 or 3 miles above Charles Town and soon began their opperations against the Town;[352] which is a compleat fortification on the Landside with very strong outworks and a broad

canal or Ditch on its Face; and from the Information which the General received, it had a Garrison of regular Troops to defend it of 5000 Men.[353]

On the Sea Front, it had strong Batterys, and a Boom across the Channel to defend it from shipping, and three Frigates and a large two deckd French Merchant Ship with Heavy Cannon compleated their Defences on that side.

The Troops being landed, the Admiral sent several of the Line of Battle Ships to the West Indies to join the Fleet, and considering himself to have performed what he had undertaken, Informed me that it was his Intention to leave me with a Squadron of Frigates, to cooperate with the Army, and should himself return to New York. But a very few days intervened before a letter from the General, desiring a conference totally changed the state of affairs, and rivetted the Admiral to the Expedition very much against his will.[354]

When Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot first concerted this Expedition against Charles Town, it was certainly not known that any great force was likely to be found in Charles Town, Therefore as the General had his leave to come home, and give up Command of the Army to Lord Cornwallis, he was in all probability in hopes that it might be an easy conquest and give him much credit on his arrival in England.[355]

Be that as it may be most certainly persuaded the Admiral, who had orders to send the most of his Line of Battle Ships during the winter season, to the West Indies to reinforce Sir George Rodney,[356] that he was desirous only of his Escort, to land his Troops in the Neighbourhood of Charles Town, and should not require the least of his assistance in the taking of the Place; and that a few Frigates left to cooperate with him, would be all that could possibly be necessary; and with this Impression, the Admiral assured me, he sailed from New York.

To this conference I attended the Admiral, when Sir Henry Clinton gave him to understand, that upon his reconoitring the Enemys Force and Position, He found it so infinitately stronger than he had expected, that without the fullest assurance of his support, with the cooperation of the Fleet by an attack upon the Town, his success against it would be hopeless.[357]

1779. This Information quite disconcerted the Admiral, who complained bitterly of his not having been dealt fairly by

> That he had been brought into joining in the Expedition against his Will; That he, [the General], knew very well that the Line of Battle Ships were destined for a more important service; and therefore if the Army could not

do the business themselves, or with the assistance of a few Frigates, They might again embark on their Transports, and they should be convoyed back to New York or wherever He pleased.

I am here sorry to relate that these two officers never having acted cordially together, they were now so full of criminating each other,[358] that I foresaw but little chance of their coming to a proper understanding of the question. But at length, the General took me aside, and plainly told me, that unless the Admiral could, in his cooler Moments, be brought to consider the critical situation he was placed in, and consent to give his fullest cooperation to the Army, he should consider the business at an End, and lay the whole blame of the failure upon him and the Navy. It then became my business to lay the whole state of the case before the Admiral, and point out to him, that whatever might have been his plan and Intentions before he left New York, He was now only to consider what his situation was <u>at present</u>; and he would then see, that he was to the full, as much pledged to the success of this Expedition as the General himself, whoever had been the original planner of it; and he would be equally called upon to account for its failure, in the event of such a Misfortune, and reminded him of the consequences if the Enemy should discover that there was a bad understand-

ing between the two Commanders in Chief.[359] Fortunately, now things took a different Turn; the Admiral allowed me to assure Sir Henry Clinton that the Navy would cooperate with the Army, to the utmost of their Power,[360] and the Plan of Opperations was immediately concerted and agreed upon.[361]

The Honourable Captain Keith Elphinstone,[362] who had gone up the Edisto with the Army had a Party of the Sailors from the Fleet attached to him,[363] and a number of twenty four pounders, were landed from the Ships--The Admiral hoisted his Flag onboard my ship the Roebuck,[364] and having given out in orders, that all directions and memorandums given out by me in the Admirals Name, should be obeyed, as if issued by himself. Therefore, the whole opperations and movements of the Fleet fell under my direction.

The great difficulty which occurred was the shallowness of the water on Charles Town Bar, on which, even at Spring Tides there is never more than 16 or 17 feet of water so that no 64 could attempt it. The service therefore could only be attempted by the 2 Twodecked ships, the Romney of 50 Guns and the Roebuck of 44 Guns, and the 5 Frigates, Richmond, Rawleigh, Blonde, Virginia, Perseus, all of which were obliged to be lightened,[365] on the outside of the Bar, which is in the

open sea; and as we could only attempt the Passage on the Spring Tides, and then only with a fair wind, the Roebuck and the Romney had all their Guns out, and every heavy article which could lighten the ships put onboard Transports for 15 days, before an opportunity offered to pass the Bar; certainly a very perilous situation at this season of the year; However no accident happened, and a fresh Easterly wind happening we all passed the Bar and came to anchor in Rebellion Road; and on the next day we were fully equipped again for Service.[366] And here it may be necessary to state, that such of the Line of Battle Ships as could be of no service during the siege the Admiral allowed them to shelter themselves in such Inlets as had sufficient depth of water for them to go into; the Defiance of 64 Guns Captain Jacobs,[367] attempted the Harbour of Savannah, but taking an improper opportunity, grounded on the Bar; and not taking advantage of the Night Tide, which was very much higher, the Ship drove a mile from the Place she had struck upon, and was totally lost.[368] Her Lower deck Guns being immediately sent up to the Beseiging Army, enabled more Batterys to be erected and became of considerable use.

Our first object after crossing the Bar was to pass Fort Moultray, [sic], which is the great defence of the Harbour;

and which shewed itself so strong against the attack Sir Peter Parker made upon it, unsuccessfully, in 1776, that it was judged best to pass it, without risking any of the ships against it. For this purpose, Boats were appointed to place themselves on the points of the shoals, whenever the Ships should move up; and the first opportunity of a fair wind was taken, before the Ships bended to the Flood, to take up the action; the sails being all furled with Rope yarns, and keeping each their relative situation, and bearing from each other, we kept in a Body, and steered directly up towards the Fort without loosing a sail; so that my Ship the Roebuck, which led the Squadron and carrying the Admirals Flag, Having previously prevailed upon him not to risk his Person in passing the Fortx but to go in his Barge on the other side of the River,[369] was within half a mile of Fort Moultray before the Enemy discovered us to be under weigh, and then fired their first shot; which being the appointed signal given out in Orders, Every ship was under full sail in a moment; and had it not happened that my best Bower anchor hanging to the Cathead was shot away and fell to the Ground at the time we were actually passing the Fort, which I would not leave behind but took up, scarce a man would have been hurt; as it was, we suffered very little[370] and we all

came to anchor, opposite the deserted Fort Johnson on the other side, as near together as possible;[371] For this anchorage lays exactly half way between Fort Moultray and the Town, so that randon shot, fixed at an Elevation, from either, and assisted by the wind, which the Enemy were not backwards in taking advantage of, were continually falling among the Ships.[372]

In this unpleasant situation we lay for near 3 weeks, during which time the Besiegers were proceeding by regular approaches.[373] However we were not idle in the Fleet; Captain Hudson[374] with a party of Seamen got possession of Fort Moulray, by a stratagem, having left the Ships in the Night, unseen by the Enemy, Landed in the rear of the Fort, sent a Flag of Truce to summon the Fort.--The Enemy also sent one to meet it, which returning with the summons, and being made to believe that the Army was landed, with two thousand fresh Troops sent on purpose to attack the Fort; and that no Quarter would be given if carried by assault; very readyly accepted of the Terms offered them.[375]

At the same time I landed with a Body of Seamen and Marines to attack a Fort on Coopers River just above the Town, and about 3 miles from where the ships lay; but it gave us no trouble as the Enemy evacuated the Place before we reached it.[376]

Things remained in this state when a very unpleasant circumstance happened. A Mr. Irwin who had been Attorney General at Charles Town under the British Government at that time living at Head Quarters,[377] came down to pass a few days with the Admiral, and was entertained with all possible civility being known to him at New York, which however was very ill repaid by what he reported on his return to Head Quarters. It appears the Admiral, certainly without any Intention but in his joking way, said to this Gentleman "I don't know what your General and you are all about at Head Quarters, for this seige has lasted already twice as long as I was taught to expect it would, and I don't see when it is likely to end, we are all here wishing most heartily for the day of the General Attack; when do you think it is likely to happen?" All that heard this conversation except this Person, had not the least Idea that the Admiral meant to cast any reflection on the Armys activity, but merely arising from an eagerness to see the business brought to a happy Issue.[378] But in what manner it was carried to the General can only be known by the Rire and Resentment in which it was immediately Noticed.

In the middle of the night a letter was brought to the Admiral desiring he would meet Sir Henry Clinton at a Persons House which was situated about 1/2 way between us and Head Quarters, and that an Escort and horses attended. On my giving him this letter which he read in bed, it put him in the highest spirits; Exclaiming, "This Summons is quite delightful, as it is, I expect to announce the day on which the assault is to be made, and to concert measures accordingly." He therefore dressed himself in a Hurry would not be prevailed on to take any Breakfast, and by 1/2 past 7 oclock we were both on Horseback escorted by about 20 Light Horse.

When we reached the appointed House, which had 3 or 4 steps leading up to it, there was some aid de camps standing, Lord Lincoln,[379] General Leslie,[380] and another, with whom I stood talking, whilst one of them ushered the Admiral to the presence of the General, who was waiting for him in a Back Parlour. Not two minutes could have elapsed before I saw the Admiral coming out alone, seemingly in great wrath and agitation, exclaiming as I came to him,

> Instead of this meeting being for the purpose I expected, I find I am brought here to have my throat cut, or make immediate apology for having said something he, (Sir Henry Clingon), says reflected upon his Conduct.

I begged he would say nothing of what had happened, to the Aid de Camps, and pushed on to the Parlour where I found the

General in a Rage quite immeasurable. I turned the Key of the door, and then calmly and quickly enquired what had really happened, assuring him at the same time, that there must have been a mistake somewhere, or very gross misrepresentation. It was some time before he cooled enough to give me any Idea of what was in his mind. At last he said that he had been so grossly ill treated by the Admiral who had openly before his officers reflected on his Military Character and otherways calumniated him, that it was beyond human Patience to bear, and that he came determined to make him give him satisfaction, and nothing but an immediate apology should satisfy him. To this I replyed,

> Should that Idea be found hereafter to be the case, I would pledge myself he should have ample satisfaction, but I put it to himself to consider whether this was a proper time to think of Private Grievances, when every Hour was required for the Public Service; and to think what spirits it would give the Enemy, if at this state of the business it should be known, that there was a quarrel between the two Commanders in Chief! That so far from the Admiral believing that he had committed any offense, his whole mind was bent on the success of the Expedition, and he obeyed the summons he received this morning in the fullest expectation it was for the purpose of concerting measures for a general assault, in case the Enemy should continue to hold out; and that I would take upon me to say he had never harboured a thought to his, the Generals, disadvantage since the Siege had been commenced.

He then told me that it was from Mr. Irwin's Report, when he came back from the Fleet, that he had considered himself to have been Insulted, which I assured him was not true, and should be so proved.

This hotheaded man at length cooled, expressed the regard and opinion he had of me, and that believing me to be his Friend as well as the Admirals he would be satisfied if I could prevail upon the Admiral to say that he had not intended to reflect upon his Conduct, which fortunately after some time he consented to; and thus ended this unpleasant scene[381]--and we were escorted back to our Ships. A few days after this, the Enemy shewed signs of capitulating, but not until they were fully convinced, all further resistance was vain.[382]

The Admiral and myself went up and joined the General at Head Quarters, and sat up the whole night on the consideration of the terms proposed, which were three times rejected but at last consented to;[383] and at sunrise in the morning one of the Gates was given up to the British Troops, and the Ships in the Harbour were taken possession of by the Sea Officers of His Majestys Fleet, the Rebel crews having been included Prisoners of War as well as the Troops in Garrison.[384]

The Termination of this expedition having ended so happyly, and so unexpected by the Admiral, that he frankly confessed he felt the greatest obligation for the Friendly part I had taken in the Business, and the able assistance he had received from me; and that he knew no other way of making amends but by giving up to me the whole of his Patronage in the Promotion which this success would occasion and which I accepted on condition of being informed of any promise or engagement he might be under to any officer in the Fleet, which was all accordingly done.

My nephew, Andrew Snape Douglas having been my First Lieutenant when the Admiral hoised his Flag onboard my Ship, and extremely active during the seige, had been appointed a commander, and fitted one of the large Transports as a Floating Battery, was now made Post Captain; and as it was agreed upon by the Admiral and General, who had become quite reconciled to each other, that Colonel Lord Lincoln and myself should carry home the dispatches, giving account of this victory, Captain Douglas had an order to command the Seahawk, and I left him in full possession of the whole of my property in the Ship, which ship at that time, being the only one on the Station that was sheathed in copper, and was likewise the best sailor, was for a young man under 19 an extraordinairy Instance of good fortune, and the Admiralty Board

confirmed the Appointment. Altho my near Relation, and a Boy who had never left my side from 10 years old, when his Father died, I may be allowed to say, he was exceeded by no man in the Profession, and to use the Kings Expression some time after his death, in 1797, when at His Majestys request I presented him with his Bust, "He was a great national loss, but he lived just long enough to become a Brilliant Example to all the rising young Men in the Navy".

He was Admiral Lord Howe's Captain in the great action on the 1st June 1794 against the Republican Fleet of France;[385] who fought for the Dominion of the Sea; and He Commanded the Queen Charlotte, a first Rate,[386] the year after, and by his Extraordinairy exertion and ability as a seaman brought the French Fleet to action,[387] and gave the Commander in Chief a Peerage, lord Bridport.[388]

On Captain Sir. Andrew Douglas going onboard the Admirals Ship The Royal George after the action, He received him with a guard at the gangway, thanked him for his eminent service, particularly by bringing the Enemy to action by arresting their escape into Port L'Orient;[389] and before all his Officers, told him he considered the Victory which they had gained, was principally owing to his exertion and Gallantry--yet in the Public letter little or no mention

was made of it.[390] Alas!!! He died at my House at Fulham on the 4 June 1797 of the effect of the wounds he received on the 1st June 1794, and he is buried in a Vault in Fulham Church Yard.

1780. In the disposal of this Patronage I can safely declare, it was done with the greatest impartiality; and setting aside the Instance of giving so fine a Ship, as the Roebuck was then esteemed, to so young a man as Captain Douglas, when most of the Frigate Captains were desirous of changing into her, which was entirely the act of the Admiral himself, It gave general satisfaction to the Fleet.

The Earl of Lincoln and myself, charged with the Generals and Admirals dispatches, Embarked onboard the Perseus Commanded by the Honourable Keith Elphinstone, and arrived in England on the 20th June,[391] just in time to raise the spirits of the Public and the Government, after the dangerous Riots of the Mob,[392] raised by Lord George Gordon.[393] We were both carried immediately to the Kings Levee, which was then assembled, and the Impression of the News of our Success against Charles Town made upon all present was quite extraordinary, as Reports had been circulated through France, that the Siege had been raised, after an immense slaughter of our Troops; after a few words from the

King I received His Majestys Command to attend him at 9 oclock in the Evening, to acquaint him of the particulars of the Siege.[394]

After passing the rest of the Forenoon with some of the Ministers, Lord North,[395] Lord Sandwich and Lord George Germain, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and giving them a full detail of the Particulars of the Siege of Charles Town, which Lord Lincoln had had no opportunity of doing, as the King had sent him to make his Peace with his Father the Duke of Newcastle.[396] They were so fully impressed with the Consequence of the Capture, and the good conduct and the perseverance of the Army and the Fleet That it was agreed that notice should be given that night in both Lords and Commons, that the Thanks of Parliament would be moved for there the next day.--which accordingly took Place.

I evaded all Invitations for dinner, as I had wrote from Hounslow to my wife to come up to Town, and we had a happy meeting at Sir Harry Parkers[397] in Newman Street; and for the first time I had the happyness of seeing my son, then 6 months old.[398]

At 9 oclock I was punctual to my appointment with the King, at the Queens Palace.[399] His Majesty perused with great Interest all the Plans and Papers I had brought with

me, and listened very attentively to the whole of the detail which had produced so happy a result; The news of which he was pleased to say, arriving at so important a crisis for the country great as it was added much to its consequence.[400]

This subject however did not take much above an hour; for His Majestys mind was so engrossed with what had been passing for near a week in the Metropolis, that every circumstance of what had happened in the Riots was related to me, and I was not dismissed until the clock struck 12. The King certainly thought that the Government had been in danger; and was so strongly impressed, that so considerable a body of People could not have been brought together, without some stronger motive than Lord George Gordon's advertisement;[401] he had positively forbid Lord North and the Ministers to use coercive measures as much as possible, until a force sufficieht could be collected into the neighbourhod of the Metropolis to repel any serious attempt which might be meditated against the Government, and to give time for the discovery of the Leaders.[402] Orders were therefore given to form a Camp in Hyde Park, which in the course of 4 or 5 days amounted to 10,000 men, and which on the day of our arrival had restored tranquility in every Quarter; but not until great and considerable outrages had been committed by the Mob.[403]--

I cannot here omit to mention the very kind and particular attention I received both from Lord North the Minister and Lord Sandwich the 1st Lord of the Admiralty, both of whom had received, from some private hand, (Lord Cornwallis), the full account of the part I had taken in keeping the two Commanding Officers together during the Siege, and the active part I had taken as nominal Captain of the Fleet during the whole of the Campaign; Lord Sandwich made not the least difficulty in complying with my wishes to have my Nephew Douglas confirmed Captain of the Roebuck, and offerd me the Monarch, a full manned 74, which on my declining, for reasons very satisfactory to his Lordship,[404] he gave the Monarch to Lord Ducie.[405]

Shortly after I had been at home, came on a Dissolution of Parliament;[406] previous to which Lord Auckland, then Mr. Eden, came to me from Lord North, to propose my coming into Parliament which under such auspices, I could not of course refuse; and Mr. George Selwyn[407] of the Neighbourhood of Gloucester, who had for many years represented that City in Parliament, having stated to the Minister that if he could send down a Popular Candidate to join his Interest, there was not the smallest doubt of his being able to return the Two Members.[408] The day of the dissolution being determined

upon, I received a confidential letter from his Lordship, which carried me immediately from the Isle of Wight to Gloucester; and in company with Mr. Selwyn and his Friends, made a general and successful canvas of the whole Town.[409] When Mr. Selwyn thought proper to send a Friend of his, up to ask of Lord North what the Minister could not possibly bind himself to grant whilst an Election was pending; [Lord North's answer was inadequate, and] at this Mr. Selwyn chose to be offended, and at 11 oclock at Night on the Evening before the day of the Election to write to me a letter, saying that from that moment He declined having anything more to do with the Gloucester Election; and that all joint Expenses agreed upon between us, must cease from that Hour. Thus circumstanced what was to be done?--I ordered Horses to be put to my Chaise and was in half an hour at Selwyns House, to remonstrate with him about such scandalous proceedings; when I was fortunate to find Lord Mackartney[410] with him who had just arrived. To him I related my story, and requested him to be Umpire between us. His Lordship most honourably told Mr. Selwyn, that altho then a stranger to me, and his Guest, that being called upon as he was, he without the least hesitation told him, that he was much too pledged in the business to rescind from the Election or from the Support he had undertaken to give me in the Contest; that he had commenced

it together, and at all Events he was bound to give me his fullest support, and to bear his share of the Contest let the Issue of it be what it would, and any contrary conduct to this would lose him every Friend he had in the world.

To all this he was inexorable. He expressed much concern for my disappointment, and the more so, because he firmly believed we should both be returned, but as he had been used ill by Lord North, he had at once made his decision; and was determined to resent the affront, instead of gratifying his Expectation.[411]

Nothing more therefore remained for me to do, but to make my retreat immediately. I returned however to meet those Gentlemen of the Town who had given me their support, who all, except one or two, agreed with me, that without Selwyn's Interest and Exertions, I could have but little chance of Success,[412] I gave up the Contest and wrote to the other joint Candidates, that I should give them no further Trouble, and took my leave of Gloucester accordingly, and returned to Town to relate my Story at the Treasury, where my Conduct was approved, as was that of Selwyn most justly reprobated, by the whole Town, ever after.

Not long after this Period, and before I had accepted of a Government Seat, on the Double returns,[413] as I was

promised, a Promotion in the Navy took place, and Lord Sandwich made me an offer of the appointment of the Commissioner of the Navy at Halifax, with the appointment of Commander in Chief in that Port, in the absence of a Senior Officer. At the same time Lord George Germain Secretary of State for the Colonies, offerd me the command of the Province as Lieutenant Governor, with an assurance that the Governorship should follow it, as soon as Mr. Legge,[414] then at Home, could be otherways provided for. These appointments, so handsomely bestowed upon a Captain under 10 Years standing, with an Income of near £2500 per annum was most readyly accepted,[415] and in the Spring of the next year 1781, I embarked with my Family, and arrived at Halifax in July, where I relieved Rear Admiral Sir Richard Hughes Baronet,[416] and the next day was sworn in at the Court House as Lieutenant Governor, and took upon me the command of the Province and entered on the other duties accordingly. How these were executed, the Admiral Commanding in Chief on the American Station Lord Graves[417] and [_____] have borne ample Testimony; and the Public letter written to me by the Earl of Shelburne[418] Secretary of State for the Colonies,[419] on the change of Administration in 1782,[420] expressing strongly His Majestys approbation of my Services was highly flattering to

me; But as I did not stand in the same light in Lord Rockinghams[421] Administration, to whom I was entirely unknown, as I had done in Lord Norths, Lord Shelburne's letter informed me that,

> upon coming into office He found the Government of Nova Scotia Vacant, and as I had other important duties to perform, He had thought proper to appoint a Friend of his Own to that office, but hoped it would make no material alteration to my prejudice, and that he might depend upon my giving the New Governor my best advice and assistance in the arduous difficulty, which he knew existed, in keeping down the dissaffected Inhabitants from joining the 13 Revolted Provinces.[422]

It is certainly true that when I first entered on the Administration, very much of that spirit actually existed, but had been got the better of, by a constant watch on their conduct, and a liberal attention to their Interest,[423] and as at that time I was too high spirited to sit down quietly under the Indignity of having a Colonel in the Army put over my Head, and to hold the very Place I had been promised by the late Administration, I immediately by the Packet returned his Lordship an Answer, that I should wait the arrival of the New Governor, but continue no longer in the Province, and therefore requested Him to obtain His Majestys permission for me to resign, not only the office of Lieutenant Governor of the Province, but also that of Commissioner of the Navy, as

it was my Intention immediately to return into the active duties of my Profession.

An opportunity of a Passage to England for myself and Family then presented itself by the Caton a 64 Gun Ship, one of Lord Rodneys Prizes,[424] being then in the Port repairing her damages--Captain Fisher[425] therefore making me an offer of his apartments, I caused them to be fitted with every Necessary and proper convenience; and very soon after Governor Parrs[426] arrival I embarked with about 14 in Family onboard that ship, including my Nephew Sir Andrew Douglas's wife[427] and her Sister with their servants, in January 1783, and next day sailed in company with the Pallas Captain Christopher Parker,[428] and about 10 Sail of Merchant Vessels and empty Transports for England.

This Voyage proved most disastrous! The circumstances and occurrencies of which can never be remembered or related without Pain; as most of the distresses and disasters we met with, might certainly have been prevented by common Prudence and good Seamanship; but owing to the Obstinacy and Ignorance of the Captain, a young man who could hardly be allowed to be in his senses, The Ship at first coming out of Port at that season of the year was neglected to be put into proper state, for resisting bad weather; and a violent Storm coming on

suddenly, all attempts with so weak a crew were ineffectual after the gale began and a most tremendous sea arose. In less than 6 hours the ship became a mere wreck, from a succession of misfortunes which rapidly followed each other. Scudding before the wind, and just before night, the Mizen blew loose and all attempts to get it brailed up were seen to be perfectly vain, yet the obstinacy of the captain prevented the Mizen Mast from being cut away and caused the Ship, which was then going 10 or 11 Knots, to suddenly broach too, and shipp'd a most tremendous Sea, which not only cleard the decks of everything loose, but put several feet water in the hold, and the Ports and Hatchways being badly secured, as the Gale increased the Topsails from being badly furled, the last Reef never having been got in, blew loose also, and were obliged to be cut away. Then the Tiller broke, and altho at length another Tiller, with great difficulty was got in, the Rudder had worked so much whilst it was loose, that before midnight it was torn away from the Stern Post.

The Ship working very much, she took in so much water, that the Pumps could not vent it; at length the Bowsprit and foremast went and with them the Maintopmast and soon after the Mizenmast went over the side, and until the wreck was cleared away, the ship was in danger of foundering from the violent blows of striking upon it.

Near a week past, before the weather sufficiently enabled us to construct a Temporary Rudder, with a Topmast, hung by the Stream Cable, with a Square at the end loaded with Iron Balls and Guys applied to the Quarters. This however at length became of little use, as the whole of the next week the Storm was so Violent, that the ship was laying on her beams ends the greatest part of the time, and for want of the foremast, the ship had such sternway that the topmast was beat to pieces and obliged to be cut away.

To notice every particular distress is impossible, I shall therefore only state, that for more than five weeks we were left at the Mercy of the Sea; our whole endeavours to keep the ship above water 'till at last the Gale moderated, so as to allow of getting up a Topmast for a Jury foremast and employing every possible material we had left for making the Ship navigable. The contrivance for steering was a third of a Bower Cable out of the wardroom windows with two Gun Carriages and Iron Ballast attached to the end, with Guys to the quarters and used by Tackles; all of which in tolerable good weather answered to steer the Ship within a point or two. To reach England in this shattered state was entirely out of the question, so that our main object was to get into the Trade Wind as soon as possible; and in about

three months we arrived safe at Antigua, but with the Ships Company quite exhausted by fatigue, and short allowance of Provisions.

April 1783 A few days before our arrival we spoke with a French Merchant Vessel bound to Martinico, who first informed me of the General Peace.[429] This was an Event I had by no means reckoned upon, as by the last accounts I had received from England previous to leaving Halifax nothing of the kind was expected, and a letter from Lord Howe received by the Packet informed me that he was just appointed Commander in Chief of the Western Squadron.[430]

In about a fortnights residence at Antigua we were sufficiently recruited in our health to undertake a passage to England; for which purpose I chartered the Ship Amazon of London, a dismantled Privatier of 24 Guns which for the last two years of the war had been cruizing against the Enemy very successfully in the West Indies. Here again we were fated to experience a further sequel of misfortunes; for altho we embarked under the most favourable circumstances, onboard a good ship, in good season of the year, and had reached the length of the Western Islands in so short a time as to be flattering ourselves with making a very good expeditious Passage, an accident happened which gave us serious alarm and

put an End to the hopes we had been entertaining.

Early in the Morning, the wind on the Quarter pretty strong westerly and the Ship going ten Knots an hour with all sails set, by the Imprudence and mismanagement of the owner of the Ship, who happend to be onboard and eager to gain a character for the Ship's having made an extraordinary quick passage, prevailed upon the Officer of the Watch to set the Driver,[431] which overpowered the Helm and a heavy sea striking upon the quarter knocked the Rudder entirely off the Stern Post; when the Ship, of Course, broached to, and shipped so great a sea the Hatchways being open, as to threaten immediate Foundering.

Captain Alexander Ball[432] of the Navy, to whom I had given a Passage, and myself, being both in bed, and rowsed by the Shock, were prevented reaching the deck by the immense Torrent of water pouring down the companion ladder into the Cabin; at length we made our way through it, and a sad spectacle was presented to us. Both Main and Fore-top Masts, Bowsprit and Main yard were carried away and hanging over the side, with all their sails and rigging; The Ship laying like a log in the Sea, half full of water; and altho every possible exertion was immediately used by every Person onboard everything had at first so bad an

appearance; that it was sometime before it could be said that the ship was in safety. In the first place, having been, altho 400 Tons, built for a cutter, she was extremely light, and illcalculated for bearing such a shock; and having a Square Tuck, which the Gudgeons of the Rudder had been torn from, and the bolt holes open, so great a body of water came pouring in through them, as made it difficult for some time to get them stopped, as well as to reduce the Quantity in the Hold by the Pumps and Baling, which at last was satisfactorily effected; and before Noon we had the Ships so much to rights, that we were proceeding on our course, at the rate of 4 Knots, Steering with about 10 Fathoms of our Bower Cable with 2 Gun Carriage and Iron Ballast at the end; and Guys on the Quarters with Tackles. The remainder of the day we were busyly employed in clearing the wreck, and in the next we got a Jury Bowsprit fixed, and Top Gallant Mast for Topmast, and began to laugh at our misfortune, as the wind continued favourable.

On Reaching Soundings[433] however we met a confirmed Easterly wind, which kept us out above a fortnight, when fortuneatly we were overtaken by a Division of the Leeward Island Fleet returning to England, in consequence of the Peace, when the Raisonable commanded by Lord Hervey[434] had

the kindness to relieve our distress and towed us to the west end of the Isle of Wight, and the same day we came to an anchor off my own cottage near Yarmouth, and had the happyness to land with all my Family in perfect health--

And here a scene of happyness took place, after all the Perils we had experienced, scarce to be equalled. Five months having passed since we sailed from Halifax, we were in general given over as lost; when on the Amazon in her disabled state droped anchor, my nephew Sir Andrew Douglas[435] immediately came off to make enquiry after the Caton, the ship in which he had left Halifax, when to his astonishment and joy as he approached, he perceived his wife and all of us upon the Deck. This sudden Transition may be concieved but cannot be Expressed!

1783 After a few days Rest to recruit ourselves, I proceeded to London, When I found another change had taken Place in the Ministry,[436] Lord Lansdowns[437] Peace not having been well relished,[438] from the Great Sacrifices which had been made for obtaining it. The duke of Portland[439] was at the Head of the Government and Lord North and Mr. Fox[440] Secretaries of State and Lord Howe First Lord of the Admiralty.[441] By all of whom I was most kindly received, with an assurance that my services should be faithfully represented to the King,

and by whom I was, on going to the Levee, very graciously received and kept in conversation above ten minutes. A few days after, Lord North informed me His Majesty intended to confer upon me a Mark of his favour by creating me a Baronet. Creation 18th December 1783.[442]

At the close of that year Mr. Pitts[443] Ministry commenced, and Earl Howe became First Lord of the Admiralty.[444] The Peace Establishment of the Navy was extremely low, and I remained on halfpay untill the Spring of 1785, when the Duke of Richmond[445] then Master Genral of the Ordnance,[446] having formed a Plan for the better fortifying the two Principal Naval Ports in the Kingdom, Portsmouth and Plymouth, and the country being much divided in opinion as to the necessity of the measure, a Commission was issued under the Great Seal to certain Land and Sea Officers[447] to examine the Plan proposed, with all its Data, and consider on the 'spot' its Eligibility and Report to the King their opinions accordingly.[448]

To this Commission I was appointed one of the Members, and it occupied the greatest part of the summer, 1785, When a Report was made in favour of the measure to a certain Extent, which being laid before Parliament previous to any part of the works being undertaken, and its utility being

very strongly opposed, The House of Commons on the Division being equal in numbers, The Speaker[449] gave his casting vote against its taking Place, upon the principle of a large expense being incurred where its benefit was doubtful.[450]

1785 Soon after this Commission was dissolved I was appointed by Commission from the Admiralty Commander in Chief of His Majestys Ships and Vessels in the River Medway, and accordingly hoised a Broad Pendant[451] onboard the Irrestible of 74 Guns then laying as a Guardship at Chatham.

September 1787 Few occurrencies took place of any moment, in this situation, until the autumn of 1787, when the Government thought proper to resent the affront of the Spaniards at Nootka Sound,[452] and ordered a Fleet to assemble at Spithead.[453] Accordingly I sailed with the Squadron of Guardships from Chatham and joined the Fleet at Spithead. That business being amicably settled[454] in December I returned back to my station in the Medway, 1788, and early in that year the Irresistible was paid off, and my command ceased.

1791. The Fleet was again armed, and Lord Howe appointed Commander in Chief of the Western Squadron. The Ship I was appointed to command was the Vanguard of 74 Guns, quite new, which in the month of July I fitted out at Portsmouth, and

sailed round to the Downs, and became part of the Fleet assembled there under the Command of Admiral Lord Hood.[455] This Fleet was intended to have acted in the Baltic against the Russians;[456] but the difference subsisting between the two Powers being adjusted,[457] we sailed back to Spithead, where in the next summer the Fleet to the number of 36 Sail of the Line was moored in two Lines, Southeast and Northwest, for a considerable time, until it was again judged neccssary to reduce it to a Peace Establishment-- The Vanguard was then paid off; and I accepted of Lord Chatham's[458] offer, then First Lord of the Admiralty, to be appointed to the Bedford and became the Senior Captain of the Guardships at Portsmouth.

No Event of any consequence occurred during the time I held this Command Except the unpleasant Court Martial on the mutineers of the Bounty, from which Sentence Three of them were executed[459] onboard the Brunswick, Sir Roger Curtis.[460] Admiral Lord Hood sat as President; and what made this act of Discipline irksome to the Court was, that it was their unanimous opinion, from the evidence produced, that the Mutiny was produced by the Tyranny, Oppression, Parsimony and ungentleman like conduct of Captain Bligh;[461] who was likewise Purser of the Bounty. The Court therefore suggested to

the President, the Propriety before they separated, of drawing up a Paper containing their opinion, to be layed before the Admiralty Board; but this his Lordship overruled, by saying he was one of the members of the Board, and should represent the circumstances very fully, it was unnecessary.[462]

1792 In this year the French Revolution began or rather got to a Height,[463] and altho the Minister Mr. Pitt had every possible desire to keep England from going into a war in consequence of it,[464] yet it was soon seen by the effect it had on the lower orders of People in this country, that nothing would be more difficult.[465] Yet the Government acted with great caution against shewing any intention of doing so, by any Encrease of either Navy or Army.[466]

However orders were given to the Guardships, and the Frigates and some of the Sloops on the Home Service, to assemble at Spithead early in the summer for the purpose of making a cruize of Evolution in the Channel, to try the new Signals then about to be established for the Navy, and after a Tryal of 6 weeks to make a Report to the Admiralty on their merits and utility.[457]

Admiral Lord Hood commanded in the Duke, myself, who received orders from the Admiralty to Hoist a Red broad Pendant onboard the Bedford, as 2d in Command, and Captain

Sir Jno. Colpoys[468] in the Hannibal had the same order to wear a white Pendant as the third in Command and Sir Hyde Parker[469] was appointed Captain of the Fleet.

We left Spithead on [___] June, and after daily exercising in various Evolutions in and out of Line of Battle, and trying the Effect and use of every signal according to the new Establishment, of that day, Viz: Lord Howe's code,[470] when the weather permitted. We returned to Spithead in August, without the least accident, or any other Event happening, other than two French Frigates, with the Tricolour Flag,[471] passing very insolently through our Fleet, without the least notice being taken, on either side. The general conjecture was, that they had been sent out of Port, to Pick a Quarrel, and therefore the Admiral very prudently, disappointed their object.

On our return each of the Ships received orders to put their former orders into Execution as Guardships.

1792 The Admiral Lord Hood struck his Flag, and left me in the Command of the Port; accordingly I took the Guardships into the Harbour. Nothing material occurred until the end of November, when I received a secret and confidential letter from the Admiralty with a private one enclosed from Lord Chatham First Lord of the Admiralty, informing me of the

prospect of War[472] with France, and altho it was judged premature to make any open preparation, whilst the French Ambassador was allowed to remain in England,[473] yet that it was important I should take the best means in my power not only to compleat the Guardships Compliments,[474] but to enter as many men for the Fleet as possible, without making any visible appearance of the Fleets arming.

In this service we were fortunate and, when the Post at 8 in the morning brought me the Admiralty Orders to send the Guardships to Spithead, five out of the six were moored at Spithead before 4 oclock in the afternoon of the same day, and the Admirals ship the Duke, followed the next morning, all full Manned, Stored and Provisioned for 6 months, and might have sailed on any Service the Next day--Shortly after I received a letter of approbation for my activity and zeal for the service; and an appointment to the command of the Duke of 90 Guns, to which ship I changed with all my Officers, but kept Mr. Douglas, now Vice Admiral Sir James Erskine Douglas,[475] then First Lieutenant of the Duke as my First Lieutenant.

The Phaeton Frigate of 30 Guns, compleatly repaired, was at this time ready for commission. My Dear Nephew Sir Andrew Douglas, being then living with his Family at Ports-

mouth, Lord Chatham and Lord Hood, then at the Admiralty, further gratified me, by giving him the Command of the Phaeton, the first Ship put into commission for the war,[476] then in Expectation.

January 1793 I continued in the Command of the Port untill I was releaved by Rear Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, who brought me a Private letter from Lord Hood telling me that a Promotion of Flags was in agitation and I was marked down for one of the Divisions of Marines;[477] and soon after had a violent fit of sickness. The Result of which occasioned my giving up active service for a time and going to the Navy Board.[478]

EDITORIAL NOTES

1. Using R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye's Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800 (Chapel Hill, 1927), a selective search was made in six periodical magazines of the time most likely to carry this account, but to no avail.

2. Possibly Dr. Andrew Snape while headmaster at Eton, 1711 to 1719, either set up an Estate or made some arrangement for, presumably, his sister, as at this time elderly spinisters were often referred to as Mrs. From what Hamond says below, this Estate devolved to him upon the death of Mrs. Snape.

3. The Navy Board, prior to 1832, handled the Administration of the Navy, being responsible for the materials and stores, control of the building yards, and warrant officers. See p. xxii. The Secretary of the Navy Board was better known as the Clerk of the Acts, but Daniel Devert held this post from 1747 to 1761. (W. L. Clowes, The Royal Navy, London, 1898, III, 3).

4. Captain James Webb was the first benefactor of Hamond, and he looked after his young charge, although not without financial interest, until Hamond had passed his lieutenant's examination. Webb was a commander in the War of the Austrian Succession and, for having captured several French privateers, he was posted to the frigate Surprize, 24, in June, 1746. On the outbreak of the Seven Years War he was appointed to the Sunderland, 60, but he did not remain in her long. In 1759 Webb was appointed to the Antelope, 50, and he died in England in May, 1761. (John Charnock, Biographia Navalis, London, 1898, V, 510-511).

5. A Post Captain was at one time a captain of three years' standing, but all ships of twenty guns and over normally carried a post captain. Admiral Boscawen received post rank immediately when he was promoted to command the Leopold, 50. (Admiral William Henry Smyth, The Sailor's Word Book, London, 1867, p. 540).

6. The Master, not to be confused with the commissioned "Master and Commander", note 44, was the most important of the Warrant Officers, and was appointed up to 1843 when he received a commission. A number of masters had received their education from Christ's Hospital, organized in 1675 to teach "poor" boys navigation, and many received qualifying certificates from Trinity House, of which Hamond was elected one of the Elder Brethren in 1796. Modern specialization was the end of the master, and he was replaced in the nineteenth century by the Lieutenant Navigator. The master's mate eventually became the sub-lieutenant whose position at one time was to the young, ambitious seaman what the midshipman was to the better born. In the later years of the eighteenth century midshipmen often took their certificates as master's mates to receive the extra pay while they endured the long wait for promotion to lieutenant. In addition, a master's mate was qualified to navigate prizes into port. Hamond himself took this step in 1755, and although he does not state so here, he entered the Speedwell as a midshipman. The other Warrant Officers would probably have included the Boatswain, the Carpenter, and the Gunner. (Michael Lewis, The Navy of Britain, London, 1948, pp. 174-176; The Gentleman's Magazine, 1828, XCVIII, 566).

7. British and French aims had long clashed in Swedish politics; the British and Russian ambassadors had worked unsuccessfully together in an attempt to defeat the pro-French "Hats" in the Swedish election of 1746. The Hats with a large Senate majority signed a Franco-Swedish convention in 1747, long an aim of French diplomacy; and with Prussian support they requested that the English ambassador be withdrawn from Stockholm. England, forestalling that request, ordered her ambassador home in February, 1748, and formal diplomatic relations were not resumed until 1764. (J. F. Chance, British Diplomatic Instructions, Sweden, 1727-1789, Camden Society, Third Series, 1928, XXXIX, xv-xvii).

8. An Act of 1699 led to the appointment of a number of warships and sloops to cruise on the coasts and seize any vessels exporting wool, and the rise of extensive smuggling, a result of high duties imposed during the reigns of William III and Anne, caused these naval

8. (Continued) vessels to form a close liaison with the Custom House. The confused rate situation was partly clarified in 1724 when Walpole's new Book of Rates supplemented the old book of 1660, but the rates were still so high that the honest merchant could hardly stay in business. In 1735, French wine, rum, and brandy paid a duty of £1 a gallon, while in 1741 tea paid a duty of five shillings a pound, and although substantial reductions were made in the tea duty in 1745, almost stopping contrabrand trade, the duties were increased again in 1748. Although Walpole's warehouse scheme was established for many items including tea, Custom House procedure was not to be reorganized completely until William Pitt reduced the excises and duties to a codified form in 1787, lowering, in particular, the tea duty from 119% to 12 1/2%. In 1753, Henry Fielding wrote in his Journal of his Voyage to Lisbon that, when in the Isle of Wight, he heard of a smuggler there, a former blacksmith, who cleared £40,000, but the "revenue solicitors" soon had him in Fleet prison. For the Hovering Acts, see below, note 122. (N. A. Brisco, The Economic Policy of Robert Walpole, New York, 1907, pp. 134-144; H. D. Traill, ed. Social England, London, 1896, V, 332, 349-350; S. Dowell, History of Taxation and Taxes in England, London, 1888, pp. 92-118; Works of Henry Fielding, John D. Morris Co., Philadelphia, 1902, VI, 281).

9. Charles Watson, 1714-1757, entered the Navy as a volunteer in 1728. He saw considerable action in the War of the Austrian Succession, commanding ships of the line under Admirals Matthews and Anson. In March, 1748, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Newfoundland, and in the same year he was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue. After his Newfoundland tour of duty, he commanded for some time at Plymouth before being appointed, in February, 1754, Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. He made an excellent reputation there cooperating with Clive, and by disobeying an Admiralty order to return to England, he was able to assure Clive of success. (Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, London, 1885, LX, 2, by J. K. Laughton. Cited as D.N.B.; Clowes, op. cit., III, 140, 160).

10. Robert Dinwiddie, 1693-1770, was born in Glasgow and worked in his father's counting house before becoming a merchant. In 1727 he was appointed Collector of Customs at Bermuda and did such good work that in 1738 he was made Surveyor-General of the Southern Colonies. This entitled him to sit on the colonial councils, and in October, 1741, he took his seat on the Virginia Council. Appointed Lieuteant-Governor of Virginia on July 20, 1751, he soon quarrelled with the House of Burgesses over quit rent payments, and this dispute unfortunately prevented much cooperation between them to meet the French encroachments in the Ohio country, note 19. Dinwiddie is largely remembered for having given Washington his first chance to distinguish himself. (Dictionary of American Biography, edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, New York, 1930, V, 316, by T. J. Wertenbaker. Cited simply as D.A.B.; D. S. Freeman, George Washington, New York, 1948, I, 282).

11. Hamond corrected his manuscript in pencil here, for the lighthouse did not burn until December, 1755, when the Speedwell was refitting at Plymouth after her Mediterranean trip. This was Rudyard's wooden tower, built from 1706 to 1709, and it was the second lighthouse at Eddystone reef, fourteen miles S.S.W. of Plymouth. The lessees of the lighthouse, upon the suggestion of the Royal Society, of which Hamond was to be a Fellow, gave to John Smeaton, the noted engineer, the task of constructing a new lighthouse. He built it, 1757 to 1759, of stone which lasted for more than a century until the foundation rock shifted. (Clowes, op. cit., III, 3, 14ff. Basil Williams, The Whig Supremacy, Oxford, 1939, pp. 256-357).

12. The Speedwell arrived in Virginia before October 22, 1753, for on that date Dinwiddie discussed the dispatches with his council, note 16. (Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, Richmond, 1945, V, 442. Cited as EJ).

13. The Victualling Board was set up under the Navy Commissioners in 1654, but its efforts to better food supplies was ineffective because brine immersion was the only method known at this time to preserve meat at sea, because there was much ignorance of what constituted

13. (Continued) a proper diet, and because there was much corruption. A powerful indictment and description of the nauseating conditions existing under the Victualling Office in 1745 was written by a cooper in the pickle yard, who was discharged because his account touched "persons of superior influence and power". The Gentleman's Magazine, in commenting upon this in 1757 (XXVII, 114ff.), indicated that the situation was then far from satisfactory. The improvements, to which Hamond refers, did not come until the early years of the nineteenth century when the discovery of canning opened new possibilities of serving decent food on board. Then too, in 1815, the metal tank was made compulsory on all ships for the storage of drinking water. (Lewis, op. cit., 354ff.)

14. Edward Boscawen, 1711-1761, a descendant of Drake, entered the Navy in 1726 and was a commissioned lieutenant in 1732. He served under Anson at Finisterre where he was wounded, and in that same year, 1747, he was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue. In June, 1751, he was appointed to the Admiralty Board, holding the seat until his death. He was raised to Vice-Admiral of the White early in 1755 before leaving for America. In 1758, as Admiral of the Blue, he commanded the naval forces at the capture of Louisbourg, and the next year he defeated La Clue at the famous battle at Lagos Bay, and on his return to England he was sworn a Privy Councillor. Well known for his strict discipline, he nevertheless earned distinction for his efforts to improve the conditions of life afloat. (Admiral Sir E. R. Fremantle, "Admiral Boscawen", in From Howard to Nelson, edited by J. K. Laughton, London, 1899, pp. 243-273).

15. Boscawen sailed for America from Plymouth on April 27, 1755, with eleven sail of the line with orders to take Keppel and the North American squadron under his flag, to communicate with Braddock, note 25, and to capture the French squadron which was bound for Louisbourg and Quebec with reinforcements under de La Motte. Although Boscawen did take two French ships, the Lys and the Alcide, the latter by Richard Howe, note 83, he was unsuccessful. This attack caused much French excitement, and although hostilities had thus begun, war was not declared until 1756. Boscawen discovered his fleet was suffering from a malignant fever, apparently typhoid,

15. (Continued) and put into Halifax where it spread into the town. He was thus unable to keep up his blockade of the St. Lawrence and de La Motte was able to return to Brest in December, 1755, though at the cost of also infecting that port with fever. Boscawen arrived at Spithead on November 4, 1755, by which time his fleet had lost two thousand men. (Clowes, op. cit., III, 140ff; J. S. Corbett, England in The Seven Years War, London, 1918, I, 45-58).

16. These dispatches were the famous directions of August 28 concerning the Ohio country. Dinwiddie was instructed, first, to warn the French to leave British territory, then, if this failed, he was to drive them out by force. He was promised the necessary military equipment to build a number of forts on the Ohio. (Freeman, op. cit., I, 274ff.)

17. The Ministry on November, 1753, was headed by Henry Pelham as First Lord of the Treasury, with his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Earl of Holderness as Secretaries of State for the Northern and Southern Departments respectively. Pelham died on March 6, 1754, and he was succeeded by Newcastle. Anson, whom Newcastle held much in awe, remained as First Lord of the Admiralty. (I. S. Leadam, Political History of England, 1702-1760, London, 1921, p. 430).

18. The French idea of a great dominion extending from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico steadily grew after LaSalle's early claims. Galissoniere and Duquesne pushed the work of establishing communications between New Orleans and the St. Lawrence by way of the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, which would have blocked English westward expansion. By the Treaty of Utrecht England gained in America Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland and Acadia. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle left untouched the American frontier disputes to the disgust of the colonials. The Treaty of Lancaster, negotiated in 1744 between Virginia and the Six Nations, gave to the English the land south of the Ohio River and permission to build some forts, but this treaty had not been ratified. To this the French had responded with the mission of Celeron de Bienville to the Ohio valley to push the construction of French forts, to protect their fur trade, and to stop English

18. (Continued) penetrations. When this became known in Williamsburg, Dinwiddie sent three commissioners to Logstown, eighteen miles northwest of Pittsburg, to procure the ratification of the Treaty of Lancaster, to settle some outstanding differences and to make sure of Indian friendship. Yet, although the treaty was read in the Virginia Council, it remained as "unfinished business for the Onondage Council (of the Six Nations) never confirmed the deed executed at Lancaster". (Lois Mulkearn, "Why the Treaty of Logstown, 1752", Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 1951, LIX, 20; Freeman, op. cit., I, 197, 271; T. P. Abernethy, Western Lands and the American Revolution, New York, 1937, pp. 8-9; L. H. Gipson, The British Empire before the American Revolution, New York, 1939, IV, 253).

19. Hamond's statement must be disallowed. He is writing of an event that took place at least sixty-five years previously, and as a midshipman, his knowledge of the contents of the dispatches was probably founded on hearsay. There is no doubt that Dinwiddie was keenly aware of what was going on in the Ohio country for, apart from being financially and politically interested in the Ohio Company and its proposed settlements in the area claimed by the French, he had constantly warned the ministry of the true state of affairs, even before leaving for Virginia. In the winter of 1752-1753, Dinwiddie was alarmed because the French had established themselves on the Ohio near the site of Pittsburg, but what he was apparently unaware of was that the French, by their strength and vigor, had almost completely won the friendship of the Indians, especially after the loss of Pickawillany, on the Great Miami, stormed by the French-led Ottawa Indians on June 21, 1752. This town was the most important Indian stronghold barring the French advance into the upper Ohio, and its fall really marked the beginning of the war for empire. On June 16, 1753, Dinwiddie wrote to the Earl of Holderness, Secretary of State, Southern Department, about the importance of building forts to keep the French out of the Ohio region; this information had been acknowledged even in the dispatches to Dinwiddie of August 28. Thus the news that these instructions bore was largely the result of Dinwiddie's own action in informing the home government of the real situation in the Ohio country. (Freeman,

19. (Continued) op. cit., I, 271ff; Gipson, op. cit., IV, 220ff, 254ff; L. K. Koontz, Robert Dinwiddie, Glendale, California, 1941, pp. 191-200).

20. George Washington arrived in Williamsburg from Mount Vernon at the end of October, 1753, where he had been busy executing the will of his brother Lawrence, who had died on July 26, 1752. George wanted to succeed his brother as Adjutant of the colony, but it was decided in November, 1752, to divide the colony into four military districts, and he was appointed Adjutant of the Southern District and sworn in as Major Washington on February 1, 1753, just after his twenty-first birthday. He learned that Dinwiddie had decided to send a warning to the French, and he "offered himself to go properly commissioned to the Commandant of the French forces". (EJ, V, 444; Freeman, op. cit., I, 266-273).

21. Washington's offer was quickly accepted by Dinwiddie and instructions were given to him on October 31. His party set out from Fredericksburg on November 1, numbering eventually only seven: four servants, an interpfeter, Christopher Gist as guide, and Washington. On December 11, he reached Fort Le Boeuf, close to Lake Erie, and presented Dinwiddie's letter to the commander there, calling formally for French departure from English soil. He was back in Williamsburg on January 16, 1754 with a non-commital French reply. (EJ, V, 457-460; Freeman, op. cit., I, 277ff).

22. Dinwiddie's dispatch to the Board of Trade was dated January 29th, 1754, and with it were enclosed the French reply, Washington's Journal and other papers, which were considered at the April 2, 1754 meeting of the Commissioners. (Journal of the Commission for Trade and Plantations, London, 1933, X, 24-25).

23. At this time Washington had not seen any active military service. His only experience had consisted of the observation of the military defenses of Barbados, October, 1751, and of his brother Lawrence's activity as Adjutant of the colonial militia. His great interest in military affairs was reflected in his studies on tactics that he made in the spring and summer of 1753. His first duties as a District Adjutant were to train

23. (Continued) the county officers who would in turn train the militia at the general musters in September, 1753. (Freeman, op. cit., I, 247-58, 268069).

24. Both France and England had used the years of peace after 1748 to strengthen their positions in North America, France by regirding Louisbourg and her river forts, and England by fortifying Halifax. The final rupture occurred when Washington, commanding Virginia forces in an attempt to smash Fort Duquesne, the last link in the French chain of forts, was forced to surrender to the French at Fort Necessity in the Alleghanies on July 4, 1754. But the English ministry did not take any action until Henry Fox, Secretary at War, and a member of the Duke of Cumberland's group opposed to Newcastle's vacillating policy of attempting to line up allies to fight a continental war, ordered on his own authority in October, 1754, two regiments to go to America under Braddock, who sailed from Cork in January, 1755. (C. G. Robertson, England under the Hanoverians, London, 1949, p. 122; Williams, op. cit., 326-28).

25. Edward Braddock, 1695-1755, entered the army in his father's regiment as an ensign in 1710. By 1735 he was lieutenant-colonel of the Grenadiers, and then of the Coldsteams in 1745. Although his war service was rather limited, he had risen to major-general by March, 1754. His appointment to the North American command was largely promoted by the Duke of Cumberland, and, escorted by Commodore Keppel, he arrived in Hampton Roads, Virginia, on February 20, 1755. (D.N.B., by H. M. Chichester).

26. Augustus Viscount Keppel, 1725-1786, son of the second Earl of Albemarle, entered the Navy in 1735, and sailed with Anson on his global trip in 1740. Promoted to lieutenant in 1744, he saw considerable action in the War of the Austrian Succession, being captured by the French when his ship ran aground in an action off Belle Isle. Upon his release in 1748, he treated with the Dey of Algiers about the depredations of his cruisers. Late in 1754, he was appointed to command the North American squadron, and he conveyed General Braddock with two 50-gun ships. Boscawen's arrival on the station in the summer of 1755 superseded him, and he returned to England with the news of Braddock's defeat. For his later career, see note 104. (D.N.B., by J. K. Laughton).

27. On his return from Fort Le Boeuf, Washington was forced by circumstances to travel with only one companion, Gist, for a considerable distance. An Indian treacherously tried to lure them to a cabin where some French Ottawa Indians were waiting apparently to murder them, and failing in this, the Indian tried to shoot Washington and Gist. (Freeman, op. cit., I, 326).

28. Modern navigation may be generally dated from the invention of the sextant and chronometer in 1731 and 1735 respectively, although both were not to reach modern standards of accuracy for many years. The real difficulty of navigation at this time lay in ascertaining longitude at sea, and as early as 1714 "The Commissioners for the discovery of Longitude at Sea" were constituted, which board was to give a grand prize of £20,000 for an accurate method to do this. This led to a bitter competition between the watchmakers and the lunarians. The watchmakers, led by John Harrison, whose chronometer of unusual accuracy was first tested by the Admiralty in 1761, were ultimately successful in their plan to find longitude by comparing local sea time, easy of ascertainment by an altitude of the sun, with Greenwich time kept on board ship by a chronometer. Nevile Maskelyne, Astronomer Royal after 1765, headed the lunarians, and he succeeded in introducing into navigation the science of taking lunar distances--that is, from the moon to a star. By using Mayer's lunar and solar tables, confirmed by Astronomer Royal Bradley, longitude could thus be found. After a trip to St. Helena in 1761, Maskelyne published The British Mariner's Guide, which was prominent for many years and gave simplified rules for practising the lunar method. Although the Board of Longitude, in 1765, approved marine tables for finding longitude at sea by this method, the Harrison family eventually received the grand prize, and their method finally prevailed. (Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, 1761, LII, 558-577; D.N.B. on Maskelyne by A. M. Clerke; Clowes, op. cit., III, 13, 338; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, New York, 1910).

29. For Hawke, Conflans and the Battle of Quiberon Bay see pp. 31-35.

30. The Master Attendant is an officer in the royal dockyards appointed to supervise the securing and fitting out of ships in the yard, and the ships in ordinary. (Smyth, op. cit., 472).

31. Braddock's expedition to North America galvanized the French into gathering a large expedition for Canada under de La Motte with six of the finest French battalions, 3,000 men, and it was this force that Boscawen failed to intercept, see note 15. In reply to this French move George II offered bounties for seamen on March 11, 1755, and thirty-five sail of the line were commissioned on March 14, with a hot press being instituted in all the chief ports. (Corbett, op. cit., I, 40; Clowes, op. cit., III, 140).

32. One of the functions of the guardships at the various naval ports was to act as replacement depots from which new men were drafted into their ships.

33. The press gang as an instrument to man the Royal Navy was an absolute necessity to counter the better conditions and pay offered by merchantmen and privateers. This was the reason that such liberal bounties were offered by various towns for men to enlist, in addition to those offered by the Crown. Pressing was done on the authority of an Admiralty warrant, and law required that a commissioned officer be present with each gang. There was a law, passed in 1740, that aimed to prevent the impressment of sailors above fifty or below eighteen. Only seamen could be legally pressed, but it has been estimated that ten per cent of the crews were illegally pressed, that is, they were not watermen. The best, and probably most, of the pressed men came from these inbound ships in the Channel as the men had less chance to escape; also trade was less interfered with. Actually there is an etymological error that has persisted over the word "press" for it is a corruption of "prest" or "imprest", which was money that was paid, as a token, to the Navy recruit somewhat similar to the army recruit's receiving the "King's shilling". (Lewis, op. cit., 310-311; Clowes, op. cit., III, 18; Fremantle, loc. cit., 206).

34. This system of retaining a seaman's wage was generally held by many in high authority to be the most efficacious manner of preventing desertions, and as such, it greatly contributed to the unpopularity of serving in the Navy. Yet there are cases on record where men with as much as three years' accumulated pay due deserted to merchantmen or privateers who offered them a little cash on the spot (R. Pares, "The Manning of the Navy in the West Indies", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series, 1937, XX, 38-40).

35. The Purser was abused probably more than any other Warrant Officer, for not until the late years of the eighteenth century was he given a straight salary. Up to then Pepys' saying held true, that "a purser without professed cheating is a professed loser". (Lewis, op. cit., 184). It had been an old custom not to pay wages until they were at least six months overdue, and often not until the ship was decommissioned. Thus speculators plied a brisk traffic in these tickets, which at this time were payable only at the Pay Office on Tower Hill, London. To avoid this speculation the tickets were kept by the ship's captain with the result that the seamen often did not receive them at all. A common accusation against bad commanders was that, in conjunction with the purser, they robbed the men. (Lewis, op. cit., 298-303; D. Hannay, Short History of the Royal Navy, 1909, II, 95).

36. George Grenville, 1712-1770, brother to Lord Temple, was educated at Oxford and the Inner Temple of which he became a bencher in 1763. Giving up law for politics, he was elected to the House of Commons from Buckingham in 1741. He was one of the Boy Patriots, and was highly regarded by Pitt. He first became Treasurer of the Navy in 1754, but as he attacked the foreign policy of the government he was dismissed in 1755. However, he returned to the same office in November, 1756, replacing Bubb Dodington. Interested in naval welfare he introduced, on January 24, 1758, for the second time his bill which, despite considerable opposition in the Lords, was enacted into law in 1758. This provided in general for the encouragement of seamen by offering more regular payment of wages, and by letting seamen remit money for the support of their families by tickets

36. (Continued) payable at any custom office. For Grenville's later career, see note 114. (D.N.B., by G. F. Russell Baker, Clowes, op. cit., III, 19, 20).

37. The first Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham was an officer in the dockyard there who kept a register of all the different ships' companies, and who by mustering the company attempted to stop any false musters such as Hamond describes on page 14. (Smyth, op. cit., 182).

38. This practise was fairly prevalent in the eighteenth century. Each captain was allowed a certain number of servants, and in selecting them he had a considerable power of patronage. When the captain chose wisely and trained the "servant" towards an eventual commission, the system was seen at its best. Otherwise the captain either drew the servant's pay, or, in addition, kept false musters and drew the pay of fictitious men. Somewhat less common was Webb's arrangement over Hamond's wages as no prior agreement had been reached. (Hannay, op. cit., II, 95-96).

39. As the century progressed competition for sailors among the different captains became quite bitter, and although each sent out his own press gang, an Impress Service was developed as an official branch of the Navy with regular officers, and in England, at least, it considerably aided the individual captain in manning his ship. (Lewis, op. cit., 331-312).

40. Boscawen's action in taking the Lys and Alcide, note 15, provoked the French into recalling their ambassador, Mirepoix, who left London in July, 1755, thus breaking formal diplomatic relations. After this French policy became very weak, and anxious to put the "aggressor" England in as bad a light as possible with the European powers, she made a show of moderation in the hope of saving her incoming Indian merchant fleets from Hawke, who had put to sea with the Channel fleet just after Mirapoix's departure. He was authorized, on August 5, to take French merchantmen and privateers as well as naval vessels, but timid Newcastle succeeded in having this order apply only to Hawke. Continued French weakness encouraged the ministry to go further,

40. (Continued) and on August 27, all stations and officers were ordered to seize French ships although without embezzlement. (Corbett, op. cit., I, 61, 68ff).

41. Despite the disruption of diplomatic relations after Boscawen's attack, informal negotiations continued. France attempted to provoke England into a declaration of war by demanding, in December, 1755, the restitution of all French ships, about three hundred, in return for a consideration to delimit the American frontier. This failed, and as English diplomacy prevented an attack on Hanover, France fell back on Marshal Belleisle's plan to invade England. To this end the attack on Minorca was calculated to cause English dispersal, but in reality became the main operation. When the details of Richelieu's force against Minorca became known, the Cabinet decided on a declaration of war, May 18, 1756. (Corbett, op. cit., I, 83-95).

42. Beatson reports that Webb, commanding the Hampton Court, 64, sailed with Commodore Brodrick in his squadron of five sail of the line sent to reinforce Byng after the declaration of war. Brodrick arrived at Gibralter on June 15, 1756, too late to help Byng. Hamond probably merely overlooked this episode, for nothing he says could have precluded it. (R. Beatson, Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, London, 1804, III, 119).

43. Thomas Cornwall, 1731-1796, was promoted to lieutenant in 1749 under special circumstances described by Hamond below. He remained in the Speedwell until February, 1757, when he was posted to the frigate Grafton, but he took very little part in the war. He was a Member of Parliament for Montgomery in 1771. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 222).

44. A Master and Commander, addressed as captain, commanded a "non-post" ship of under twenty guns, and he had to perform the duties of a master, chiefly navigation, in addition to his command duties. After 1746 a second master was generally placed in such ships relieving the master and commander of navigational duties, and in 1794 his title became officially commander. (Lewis, op. cit., 246, 259; Smyth, op. cit., 203).

45. If Hamond had "only just turned 17" then Webb must have left the Spaedwell early in 1756, thus allowing plenty of time for the command of the Hampton Court, note 42.

46. Master and Commander Cornwall's relation was Captain Frederick Cornwall, who commanded the Marlborough, 90, after February 11, 1744. Captain Frederick Cornwall's uncle was Captain James Cornwall who had so courageously died commanding that ship while in Admiral Matthews' squadron engaging the Spanish and French in the Toulon action in February, 1744. This was the action marred by the Matthews-Lestock feud, when, with the English line not completely formed, Matthews, hoping that the battle would consolidate the English position, engaged the enemy in close action, and Cornwall was killed. His death brought a most promising career to a premature close for he "seemed to possess the qualities of both Anson and Hawke". (Corbett, op. cit., I, 44; Fremantle, loc. cit., 209).

47. Riggers were men later employed in the dockyards under the supervision of the Master Attendant to fit or dismantle the rigging of ships, and to attend to other harbor duties. (Smyth, op. cit., 473).

48. Francis Holburne, 1704-1771, entered the Navy in 1720, and rose to post captain in 1739. After seeing action in the West Indies in 1747, he was especially promoted to Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1755 to provide Hawke with an experienced flag officer in the Channel fleet. On May 11, 1755, he left with six sail to reinforce Boscawen who, the ministry discovered, was outnumbered by de La Motte. The fleet that he commanded in 1757 was sent to cooperate with Lord Loudoun in the first attack on Louisbourg. He was delayed by the fall of the Devonshire-Pitt ministry, not leaving St. Helen's until April 16, 1757. Despite his efforts to press an action with de La Motte off Louisbourg, he could not efface the results of the delay, and a gale dismasting most of his ships, he returned to England in late 1757. After this Holburne never flew his flag at sea again, and for the remainder of the war he commanded at Portsmouth (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton; Clowes, op. cit., III, 166-170).

49. George Mackenzie, d. 1781, was posted in January, 1747, and after his duty in the Sunderland, acted under Howe on the 1758 expedition to Cherbourg. Later he was present at the capture of Guadeloupe, and commanded the Defiance, 60, in Admiral Pocock's fleet at Havana, 1762. He was made commodore at Jamaica, 1770, and by 1779 he had advanced to Vice-Admiral of the Blue (Beatson, op. cit., III, 162; Clowes, op. cit., III, 193 passim).

50. Admirals' ships were distinguished at sea by special flags, with fields of red, white, or blue designating the squadron. This system of flags had been developed to meet the need for common recognition of the commanding officer, and in action each ship generally flew at this time, a squadronal pendant indicating by color to which division the ship belonged (W. G. Perrin, British Flags, Cambridge, 1922, p. 85ff.)

51. Holburne, Beatson reports, had seventeen sail of the line, five frigates, and twelve smaller cruisers. Although his second in command was only a commodore, Holmes, yet a commodore's broad pendant was rated as a "flag"; Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, note 90, became second in command on the American station. Holburne picked up troops for America at Cork and left there on May 27, 1757. (Beatson, op. cit., III, 162; Clowes, op. cit., III, 167).

52. Henry Osborne, 1698?-1771, was promoted by Sir George Byng to lieutenant in 1717, being posted in January, 1728. He commanded an 80-gun ship under Matthews in the 1744 Toulon action. In January, 1756, he was dispatched as Vice-Admiral of the Red to reconnoitre Brest, and in May, 1757, as Admiral of the Blue, he was sent to assume command in the Mediterranean. Ill health forced him to return to England in July, 1758, when he received the thanks of the House of Commons for his services in rescueing British naval prestige in the Mediterranean. In 1763 he was made Vice-Admiral of England. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton; Clowes, op. cit., III, 170).

53. Sir Charles Saunders, 1713?-1775, entered the Navy in 1727, and in 1739 he moved into the Centurion at Anson's particular request for the world voyage, dur-

53. (Continued) ing which he was posted to a frigate in 1741, becoming the future First Lord's favorite disciple. He distinguished himself greatly in the War of the Austrian Succession, and in November, 1755, he was made Comptroller of the Navy, which he held until June, 1756, when he was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue. He went to the Mediterranean as second in command under Hawke, who shortly returned to England, leaving him commanding that station from January to May, 1757, when he became Osborn's second in command. In 1759, as Vice-Admiral of the Blue, he commanded the St. Lawrence fleet and in January, 1760, he was given the thanks of the House of Commons for the capture of Quebec. In August, 1765, he became a Commissioner of the Admiralty, and in 1766 he was First Lord for three months. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

54. At Toulon, de La Clue, who had commanded the French rearguard at Minorca, was preparing a squadron which he planned to take to the West Indies in the autumn of 1757, and then to Louisbourg the next spring. Osborne was successful in hampering the French activities to such an extent that the French plan of concentration, which had previously saved Louisbourg, was stymied. (Corbett, op. cit., I, 237).

55. A Polacre was a Mediterranean brig with a simplified method of rigging that used no top masts. (Smyth, op. cit., 535).

56. Sir John Dick, d. 1804, was brought up as a merchant and in 1739 went to Holland, which was the old centre of the Dick family's trading interests. There was some question of his descent from the wealthy Sir William Dick of Braid, but this was proved, and he became a baronet in 1776. The same year he resigned his consulship at Leghorn, and became the Comptroller of Accounts in the War Office. (A. Forbes, ed., Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest, Edinburgh, 1897, passim; J. S. Smith, The Grange of St. Giles, Edinburgh, 1898, pp. 62, 64).

57. A Xebec of Zebec was a small three masted Mediterranean vessel, generally a corsair because of her narrow beam, great amount of sail, and her speed. (Smyth, op. cit., 739).

58. A Mediterranean Pass was a document issued by the Admiralty to registered vessels giving permission for that ship to sail in the Mediterranean without molestation. The pass contained the particulars of the ship and was binding on all those powers at peace with Britain, or the issuing power. These passes were particularly valuable when the Barbary pirates were unchecked, and as a prize, Hamond's ship had no opportunity to acquire a pass. (Smyth, op. cit., 477, 519).

59. Sardinia was not to enter the Seven Years War. In 1720, at the Treaty of London, Austria ceded Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy as a kingdom in exchange for Sicily. King Charles Emmanuel III, of Savoy, 1730-1776, allied himself with England and Austria in the War of the Austrian Succession, and satisfied with his gains by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, he concentrated his activity on internal improvements and remained neutral, despite Frederick the Great's plea to London in 1756, that he make a diversion against France. (Corbett, op. cit., I, 154; Leadam, op. cit., 280, 371).

60. A Grego was a short coat of coarse cloth with a hood common in the Levant.

61. Pratique is permission to trade and communicate with a certain place upon fulfilling quartine requirements or upon producing a clean bill of health. The Pratique House would be the Custom or Clearing House.

62. Ragusa is a small port in Dalmatia.

63. Richard Gwynn, d. 1766, saw action commanding a sloop of ten guns under Anson in the Finisterre action, May, 1747. He continued in the Ambuscade, coming under Boscawen in 1758. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 44).

64. Leghorn was the first free port on the Mediterranean, being permanently given the privileges of a free and neutral city by the Quadruple Alliance of 1718. Important for its trade with the Levant, it was the site of an English factory until 1825. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed.)

65. Mark Milbank, 1725?-1805, posted in May, 1748, commanded the Guernsey, 50, in the early years of the Seven Years War in the Mediterranean where he saw action in April, 1757, when Admiral Saunders tried to intercept a French squadron leaving Toulon for Louisbourg. Milbank remained in the Guernsey a long time but missed the battle at Lagos Bay because he was ambassador to the Emperor of Morocco, attempting to release various British citizens held prisoner. By 1795 he had advanced to Admiral of the White, and he commanded at Portsmouth in 1800. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 81; Beatson, op. cit., III, 189).

66. This Carnival, a descendent of the Roman Saturnalia, preceded Lent, generally lasting for a week or ten days prior to midnight on Shrove Tuesday which, in 1758, fell on February 15. Feasts and entertainments were freely indulged in before the "farewell to flesh", (carnival), began on Ash Wednesday. At this time Rome and Venice celebrated the Carnival in the most ceremonial manner with certain practices, plays, races, and masquerades, taking place in a regular order.

67. This action took place on February 28, 1758. Previous to this de La Clue had succeeded in sailing from Toulon, bound for the West Indies and Louisbourg with six sail of the line. But Osborn, now based at Gibralter instead of the more desirable Port Mahon, forced him into Cartagena, where de La Clue waited for reinforcements from Toulon. Duquesne, ex-Governor of Canada, slipped into Cartagena with three sail on February 25, with his flag in the Foudroyant, 80. On February 28, a squall blew him and two others into the arms of Osborn who had returned from Gibralter. The French scattered but to no avail. The Revenge, supported by two other British ships, took the Orphee, 64, and another French ship was forced ashore. The Monmouth, 64, was commanded by Gardiner, Byng's flag-captain at Minorca, who was determined to revenge his former antagonist as the Foudroyant was the symbol of French success at Minorca, and in this famous action Gardiner fought his larger and heavier gunned adversary unsupported. The battle lasted from afternoon until past midnight when the two ships had fought themselves to a standstill. The Frenchman struck at one in the morning when the Hampton Court and another British ship

67. (Continued) came up. The effect of this engagement was great. It morally avenged Port Mahon, and it caused the French to give up hope of getting de La Clue to Canada and Louisbourg; indeed he returned to Toulon in March, 1758, and dismantled his fleet. (Corbett, op. cit., I, 255-260; Clowes, op. cit., III, 190).

68. Arthur Gardiner, 1716?-1758, promoted lieutenant in 1738, was posted to the Neptune, 90, in May, 1745. In September, 1755, he joined the Ramillies, 90, as flag-captain to Admiral Byng, with whom he was relieved after the Minorcan action. At Byng's court martial he was "an unwilling witness" as he was a personal friend. In February, 1757, he was appointed to the Monmouth and sent to the Mediterranean. In the beginning of the battle with the Foudroyant he was wounded in the arm, and then around nine o'clock he was shot through the head. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton; Beatson, op. cit., II, 153, III, 67).

69. Augustus John Hervey, 1724-1779, 3d Earl of Bristol, the second son of John Lord Hervey of Ickworth, and the celebrated Mary Lepell, entered the Navy as a midshipman in 1736, and in 1747 he was posted in Byng's Mediterranean squadron. In May, 1756, he forwarded to London the details of the French force preparing to attack Minorca, which led the ministry to send out Broderick's reinforcement to Byng. In 1758 he commanded the Hampton Court, and after this famous action, he remained in the Monmouth, and added to his brilliant reputation by his magnificent work at the Brest blockade in 1759, although he was not present at Quiberon Bay. His active sea life ceased in 1764, and he took up politics for he had been a Member of Parliament since 1754. From 1771 to 1775 he was a lord of the Admiralty under Sandwich, but then he turned against him. Promoted Vice-Admiral of the Blue in 1778, his last important act was his speech of April 23, 1779, on the condition of the Navy, ending with a motion for Sandwich's removal. (D.N.B. by W. P. Courtney).

70. The French plan was for the combined fleets to reinforce Louisbourg, but what Osborn did to the Toulon squadron, Hawke was able to do to the transports and victuallers and a small French squadron in the Basque Roads in March, 1758. Thus Pitt's main offensive at

70. (Continued) Louisbourg was assured success by these covering moves of Osborn and Hawke that prevented any substantial French reinforcements from leaving France. (Corbett, op. cit., I, 262).

71. Hamoaze is the harbor for the Navy at the mouth of the Tamar River where it enters Plymouth Sound. There was said to be sufficient room for a hundred sail. (John Malham, The Naval Gazetteer, London, 1798, I, 453).

72. Henry Harrison, d. 1759, was a lieutenant for thirty-six years before being posted in February, 1740. He served under Anson, commanding the Monmouth in the Finisterre action, 1747, and he also commanded it under Hawke in 1755. In June, 1756, he was promoted to Rear-Admiral of the Blue and appointed commander at Plymouth. In 1759, he was advanced to Vice-Admiral of the Red. (Charnock, op. cit., V, 24-32; Beatson, op. cit., III, 91, 144).

73. This is an example of eighteenth century morality, for a man was expected to serve six years at sea, and be at least nineteen years old before being examined by the Navy office examiners for the post of lieutenant. The age limit was generally winked at, although not in this case, while this false certificate from the East India captain certainly fulfilled on paper the first requirement since Hamond had served only five years at sea. (John Masefield, Sea Life in Nelson's Time, New York, 1925, p. 73).

74. The next year Webb commanded the Antelope, 50, in the squadron of Commodore William Boys that blockaded Thurot, the French privateer, in Dunkirk. Thurot's mission, part of Belleisle's plan of invading England, was to make a raid on Ireland with his cruiser squadron. Webb died in England on May 14, 1761. (Beatson, op. cit., III, 250; Admiral J. Hardy, A Chronological List of the Captains of His Majesty's Royal Navy, 1673-1783, London, 1784, p. 58).

75. Sir John Dalrymple, d. 1798, promoted to lieutenant in 1744, was posted to the Solebay, 24, in October, 1758. In 1759, while still commanding that ship. he served under Commodore Sir Piercy Brett commanding the squadron in the Downs, the second line of the fleet that

75. (Continued) prevented the passage of the French invasion transports. In 1781 Dalrymple served under Admiral Kempenfelt in the Ushant action, and he later proposed the casting of carronades "to carry a ball of 100 or 130 pounds weight". (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 484; Clowes, op. cit., III, 332; Beatson, op. cit., 250).

76. This man is not to be confused with Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, note 324, who at this time was commanding a ship of the line under Admiral Anson.

77. Thomas Hallum, first appointed lieutenant in 1742, was posted in May, 1762, commanding the Ludlow Castle, 44, which he commanded to the end of the war. He was put on the superannuated list in 1793. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 484; Hardy, op. cit., 74).

78. Edward Lord Hawke, 1705-1781, a cousin of Lord Fairfax, the Parliamentary general, entered the Navy as a volunteer in 1720. He saw early service in North America and West Indian waters, and in 1734 he was posted to a frigate only to be placed on half pay from 1735 to 1739. In 1744 he served under Admiral Matthews and his brilliant conduct was the only favorable feature of the Toulon action. This saved him from being passed over in the promotion of July, 1747, but it took the king's wishes to have him made Rear-Admiral of the White. In July, 1755, as Vice-Admiral of the Blue, he commanded the Western Squadron that sailed to the Bay of Biscay with orders to intercept a homeward bound French squadron. He was next sent to relieve Byng after Minorca, and he stayed in the Mediterranean until early 1757, leaving Saunders there to be joined later by Osborn, note 52. In April, 1758, Hawke prevented a small French squadron in the Basque Roads from sailing to Louisbourg, and he drove the French storeships ashore. Then there were misunderstandings with the Admiralty, for he wanted the command of the expeditions against the French coast, which were given to Howe. Hawke stayed ashore for eleven months until May 12, 1759 when he hoisted his flag in the Ramillies, commanding the Western Squadron, and on May 24, he arrived off Brest to blockade the French fleet commanded, after June, by Conflans, Vice-Admiral of France. (Fremantle, loc. cit., 197-230; Corbett, op. cit., II, 15, 16).

79. These guns were presumably signal guns of distress.

80. George Edgcumbe, 1721-1795, 1st Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, commanded a 50-gun ship in the War of the Austrian Succession. As commodore and senior officer in the Mediterranean in early 1756, he commanded a small squadron off Minorca, but he had to retire before the French, being superceded by Byng. In 1758 he held a command under Boscawen at the reduction of Louisbourg, and on his return he was appointed to the Hero, 74, when he came under Hawke for the Brest blockade and Quiberon Bay. In 1762 he was raised to Rear-Admiral of the Blue, rising to be Admiral of the Blue in 1782. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

81. Sir Robert Harland, 1715?-1783, while commanding the Nottingham, 60, and with the aid of a 50-gun ship, captured the French ship Magnanime, 74, after a six-hour fight. This ship, commissioned under the same name in the British Navy, was later commanded by Richard Howe. Harland, promoted to Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1770, commanded the Van under Keppel in the Ushant action, 1778, but he resigned as a consequence of Keppel's court martial, and like many other admirals held no further action under Sandwich. He was raised to Admiral of the Blue in 1782. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton; Clowes, op. cit., III, 287).

82. According to Corbett, who has studied the letters of the Secretary of the Admiralty, Hawke was hit by a south-westerly gale on June 5, 1759, and on the 6th ran up to Torbay. He was held there for about two weeks, not returning to Brest until June 21, but the French fleet, twenty sail strong, had not moved. Hamond then probably left Plymouth on June 4th. (Corbett, op. cit., II, 17, 24, 27).

83. Richard, Earl Howe, 1726-1799, was the patron around whom Hamond's future career was to revolve. A grandson of the Baroness Kielmansegge, he entered the Navy in 1739, and started out in Anson's world expedition, but his ship had to turn back. Passing his lieutenant's examinations in 1744, he was appointed to command a sloop in November, 1745, in which he was severely wounded. Admiral Knowles appointed him to be his flag-captain in October, 1748, but he saw no action in that capacity.

83. (Continued) From 1752 to 1754 he protected the trade along the Barbary coast, and in January, 1755, he was appointed to the Dunkirk under Boscawen, note 14. In 1757 he took his place in the House of Commons as member for Dartmouth, and he held a seat until he moved into the House of Lords in 1782. In July, 1757, he moved into the Magnanime, the finest of her class, and took part in the Rochefort expedition. Then came the various expeditions against the French coast, which Howe, as commodore, led in the smaller Essex, after which he returned to the Magnanime and to the Brest blockade. His later career is discussed below. (Sir John Barrow, The Life of Richard, Earl Howe, London, 1838, pp. 5-60; D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

84. At this time Hamond was past the middle of his twenty-first year.

85. John Clevland was Secretary of the Admiralty from 1751 to 1763.

86. The Hon. John Byron, 1723-1786, was the second son of the 4th Lord Byron. He sailed with Anson as a midshipman in the Wager, which was wrecked on the Chilian coast. After considerable hardships Byron and a few survivors finally reached England in February, 1746, and the publication of these experiences formed part of the background of the sufferings of his grandson's poetic hero, Don Juan. Posted in December, 1746, he commanded a 60-gun ship in the Rochefort expedition. He was not present at Quiberon Bay, but in 1761, still in the Fame, he took part in the Belle Isle expedition. In 1764 as commodore he commanded a small squadron on a South Sea discovery voyage, one result of which was the settlement and naming of Port Egmont in the Falkand Islands, note 145. For his later career, see note 128. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton; Clowes, op. cit., III, 336).

87. Hamond runs ahead of the facts here. Hawke did not shift his flag from the Ramilies to the Royal George, 100, until November 13, when the Ramillies became unseaworthy for further winter work. (Corbett, op. cit., II, 50-51).

88. A Supernumerary was victualled on board, but he was not paid until his name was on the ship's book as occupying a definite post. This illustrates the relation between post and rank: a man was not a lieutenant, for example, until he actually held the "post" of lieutenant. This was Hamond's position after he had passed his lieutenant's examinations, which he describes on page 25. The system of supernumeraries was abused by many captains as quite often their press gang would collect more men than were needed to fill the "Table of Organization", and the greenest men would be held as supernumeraries for long periods without pay. (Pares, loc. cit., 37-38). On long voyages these men served to replace those killed in action or by disease, and aided, directly or indirectly, in the formation of prize crews.

89. The Admiralty's original instructions for the blockade of Brest were based on the old observation method of watching that port from Torbay, but Hawke showed his genius by instituting a close blockade that was only lifted when heavy westward storms forced him to shelter in Torbay, storms which also prevented the French from coming out. All through the stormy weather of October Hawke maintained the blockage, but he was forced to run up to Torbay on November 10. On the 12th he put to sea, but he was driven back again on the 13th when he transferred his flag to the Royal George. He finally left Torbay on the 14th. (Corbett, op. cit., II, 16-17, 49-51).

90. Sir Charles Hardy, the younger, 1716?-1780, was appointed Governor of New York in January, 1755, being knighted before his departure. Promoted to Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1756, he conveyed the transports from New York to Louisbourg in 1757, and he was joined by Holburn at Halifax, under whom he became second in command, notes, 48, 51. In 1759, now Vice-Admiral of the Blue, with his flag in the Union, 90, he was second in command to Hawke, and he stayed in this post until 1762. In 1779, when Keppel resigned command of the Channel Fleet, Hardy as Admiral of the White, came out of retirement to take it as no other admiral would commend it at that time. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

91. Armand Vignerot-Duplesis-Richelieu, Duc d'Aiguillon, 1720-1798, distinguished himself in the French army in 1742 in Italy. He was Governor of Alsace and then Brittany,

91. (Continued) when he came into opposition with Choiseul. In 1758 he commanded the French forces at St. Cast that forced the English raiding expedition to withdraw. After Choiseul's dismissal in 1770, note 145 he became minister of foreign affairs only to be dismissed in 1774 when Louis XVI ascended the throne. (Biographie Universelle, Paris, 1811, I, 344, by Beauchamp).

92. Belleisle's plan of invasion, certainly one of the most original, called for the joint Brest and Toulon squadrons, about forty sail, to escort d'Aiguillon's army from the Morbihan to the Clyde, where it would cross Scotland and seize Edinburg, while the fleet went around the top of Scotland to Ostend to transfer the Flanders army to Essex with London its target. At the same time Thurot was to sail from Dunkirk for a raid on Ireland. Later modifications threw the major naval responsibility on Conflans' Brest squadron after the defeat of de La Clue's Toulon squadron by Boscawen at Lagos Bay in August, 1759. France had been attempting to get Swedish assistance, and on October 11, Choiseul sent to the French ambassador in Stockholm details of the final plans, in which Conflans was ordered to fight Hawke in order to cover d'Aiguillon's transports. This news was intercepted by the British, and Hawke was warned on October 29. He had been forced to run for shelter to Plymouth on October 14, and when he returned to Brest on October 20, Conflans had made no move, as a convoy of French storeships upon which his fleet was depending had been intercepted by Hawke's cruisers. With Commodore Duff guarding the French transports in Quiberon Bay, Hawke was confident that Conflans could not get out of Brest and gather up the transports without being dealt with. In fact, he wanted to extend his blockade to Rockefort to intercept Admiral Bompart returning with the French West Indian squadron of seven sail. (Corbett, op. cit., II, 29-30, 46-50; Clowes, op. cit., III, 216-217).

93. Hubert de Brienne Conflans, 1690-1777. entered the French Navy in 1706, and was promoted lieutenant in 1727. He was captured by the English in 1747, being exchanged the next year for General Ligonier. He was promoted to chef d'escadre in 1748, and to Vice-Admiral of France in November, 1756. In April, 1758, he was raised to Marshal of France. (Nouvelle Biographie Generale, Paris, 1852, ed. J. C. F. Hoefer, XI, 479, by A. Sauzay).

94. Bompart, with the French West India squadron, slipped into Brest on the same series of November gales that forced Hawke to run for Torbay. Conflans, reinforced with these experienced sailors, could delay no longer, and set sail to pick up the transports. Hawke's knowledge of Conflans' destination was based on his well-prepared cruiser wprk as well as the diligence of the intelligence department in London. In addition Duff had forwarded to Hawke on October 18 information from a Portuguese skipper that exactly located the Morbihan transports, and that they would not sail until Conflans raised Duff's blockade. On the afternoon of the 16th, about thirty-six hours out of Torbay, Hawke spoke to the British victualler Love and Unity, returning from Quiberon, whose captain reported that he had seen the French, seventy miles west of Belleisle, on the afternoon of the 15th, working to the east. (Corbett, op. cit., II, 49-54).

95. Robert Duff, d. 1787, commanded a 40-gun ship in the War of the Austrian Succession, and a 50-gun ship under Howe in 1758. Hawke ordered him to blockade the French transports in the Morbihan area on September 16, 1759. Two frigates attempted to warn Duff that Conflans had left Brest on November 14, but he did not find this out until the night of the 19th. On the morning of the 20th, Conflans gave chase to Duff only to give it up when Hawke arrived, but not before his fleet was scattered. Duff himself took no part in the battle. Later he commanded the Foudroyant under Rodney at the reduction of Martinique in 1762. In 1775 he was promoted to Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and he retired in 1780 having been Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton; Corbett, op. cit., II, 59-60).

96. Hawke's arrival at this particular moment put Conflans in a very difficult position, but with his inferior fleet he correctly decided to enter Quiberon Bay. He planned to form a line of battle inside the bay and thus force Hawke, if indeed he should hazard such dangerous navigation, to take a position between the French and the lee shore. Conflans, leading the van, entered the bay around half-past two, just as the leading English ships started engaging his rear, and the French were never able to form their line. (Corbett, op. cit., II, 60-66; A. T.

96. (Continued) Mahan, The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, Boston, 1928, pp. 301-303).

97. Sir John Bentley, d. 1772, was Anson's flag-captain at the action off Finisterre. He commanded the Warspite, 74, in the Mediterranean under Boscawen in 1759, and he was knighted for his conduct at the battle of Lagos Bay. He then joined Hawke off Brest, and was thus present at both the memorable victories. In 1761 he became a Commissioner of the Navy, but resigned upon being promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1763. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

98. The Formidable, 80, was the flag ship of the French Rear-Admiral du Verger. He performed his duty admirably, but his ship enduring successive broadsides from the passing British ships struck to the Resolution about four o'clock. (Clowes, op. cit., III, 219).

99. This is an important point, for the lowering of the flag to indicate surrender, as the result of an action, is a comparatively modern development. Before the introduction of ship-destroying cannon, when boarding parties usually formed the coup-de-grace, the action of the defeated crew in striking their flag was quite superfluous after having made personal pleas for quarter. Only the previous year, 1758, when Commodore Keppel, note 104, was taking Goree, the French struck their flag only as a signal to show a desire to hold a parley, and not to surrender unconditionally. (Charnock, op. cit., V, 318; Perrin, op. cit., 192-195).

100. James Bremer, d. 1774, was a lieutenant in 1755, and he became a commander in 1762. He was posted to the Seaford, 20, in June, 1765. He died in Scotland. (Charnock, op. cit., VL, 563).

101. The Soleil Royale, 80, had anchored after dark in the middle of the British fleet. Conflans slipped his cable at daylight on the 21st as soon as he saw his predicament, but in trying to close on the French shore batteries for protection, ran aground. The French themselves set fire to their flagship. (Corbett, op. cit., II, 67-68).

102. Sir Lockhart Ross, 1721-1790, at this time simply J. Lockhart, was first posted to the frigate Tartar, 28,

102. (Continued) in March, 1756, and in two years he rolled up such a brilliant record in capturing many French privateers, of the same or superior power, that the London merchants presented him a two hundred guinea plate, and the Admiralty appointed him to command the Chatham. He was in Duff's squadron guarding the Morbihan; the burning of the Hero took place on November 22. He rose to be Vice-Admiral of the White in 1787. (Beatson, op. cit., II, 76-78; Clowes, op. cit., III, 218, 293).

103. Joseph de Bauffremont, 1714-1781, was commissioned a lieutenant in 1737. In early 1755 he was promoted to command the Palmier, but soon moved into the Tonnant, 80, which was his flagship at Quiberon. In October, 1755, he became chef d'escadre, and in 1757, while in the West Indies, he took the British Greenwich, 50. After Quiberon he became lieutenant-general of marine in 1764, and Vice-Admiral of France in 1777. (Dictionnaire De Biographie Francaise, Paris, 1950, ed. M. Prevost, XVIII, 919 by T. de Morembert).

104. Keppel, note 26, after returning from North America late in 1755, served under Hawke until 1758. He captured Goree in December of that year, and returned to Hawke's fleet, commanding the Torbay, 74, at Quiberon Bay. Keppel, in trying to use his full armament in the rough weather very nearly swamped the ship through her lower-deck gun-ports in a close engagement with the Thesée, which went down. In March, 1761, he commanded the squadron that cooperated in the capture of Belle Isle. For his further career, see below. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

105. Hamond is a little severe in his judgement of Hawke. There was a gale blowing on the 21st, but as soon as he saw the Soleil Royale moving, he ordered the Essex after her, but she also grounded. Of the seven French sail that managed to get over the bar of the little Vilaine River, a feat never achieved before, four broke their backs on the mud. On the 27th, Hawke sent Keppel to the Basque Roads, but few of Fauffrement's ships that got up the Charente ever saw service again. The French losses were six vessels, three of which sank, not including those vessels lost up the rivers; they also lost about twenty-five hundred men. The British losses included two ships and not more than fifty killed and three hundred wounded. Hawke had successfully accomplished

105. (Continued) his mission for that French fleet, as a unit, never existed again. (Corbett, op. cit., II, 66-70; Mahan, op. cit., 303-304; Clowes, op. cit., III, 219-223, citing Hawke's dispatch of the 24th.)

106. Dumet was captured on September 4, 1760. It was turned into a vegetable garden and became a watering place for the fleet in that area.

107. The Western Squadron, or Channel Fleet, as an effective striking force, was one of Anson's products, and it largely contributed to the almost complete disappearance of the French Canadian convoys after 1761. At times, when there were no very heavy calls for naval power elsewhere, this squadron constituted to all "intents and purposes" the main British fleet. (G. S. Graham, "Naval Defense of British North America, 1739-1763", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series, 1947, XXX, 109).

108. Edward Augustus, 1739-1767, was the second son of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, who died in 1751. He first went to sea under Commodore Howe as midshipman in the Cherbourg expedition, 1758. In June, 1759, he was appointed to command the Phoenix, 44, cruising in the Bay of Biscay. On April 1, 1760, he was created Duke of York and also of Albany, and on April 8, 1761, he was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue, but he did not hoist his flag in the Princess Amelia until the next spring, when he requested that Howe be his flag-captain. He was promoted Vice-Admiral of the Blue in October, 1762. He died at Monaco in September, 1767. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 382-385).

109. This cruise was the last for Sir Edward Hawke, who hoisted his flag on April 27, 1762, with the Duke of York as his second in command, with orders to convoy reinforcements to Portugal in her defense against the expected Spanish attack. He was also to intercept on its return from the West Indies the Brest squadron, which had slipped out that January, but this he failed to do. Hawke returned to England and struck his flag on August 23 for the last time, being replaced by Sir Charles Hardy. (Corbett, op. cit., II, 303-323).

110. George Augustus Frederick, George IV, was born on August 12, 1762.

111. Hamond describes his nephew more fully below, pp. 118-119.

112. Hamond's relations with Admiral Arbuthnot form a major part of the later portion of his autobiography, pp. 101ff.

113. When the fleet was paid off after the war, Howe took a seat on the Admiralty Board under Sandwich. He held this until June, 1765, when he became Treasurer of the Navy. He remained in that office until he was promoted to Rear-Admiral of the Blue in October, 1770. See note 141.

114. Grenville, see note 36, had worked closely with Pitt, but he began to move away from him after the accession of George III, coming under the influence of Bute. In February, 1761, still Treasurer of the Navy, he was admitted to the cabinet and after Pitt's resignation, he became leader in the House of Commons. In May, 1762, when Newcastle resigned, he became Secretary of State for the northern department. Bute and Grenville had quite different opinions of the terms of peace, and Grenville did not wish to defend Bute's treaty in the House. Bute, doubting his ability to do so anyway, forced him to resign, and to accept the First Lordship of the Admiralty on October 13, 1762, which he held until April 10, 1763. (D.N.B. by G. F. Russell-Barker).

115. John Montague, 1718-1792, 4th Earl of Sandwich, entered the House of Commons as a Whig, in 1739, and attached himself to the Duke of Bedford's party. He was appointed to the Admiralty Board in 1744, and he was First Lord from 1748; however, he delegated most of the duties to Anson, but Newcastle's jealousy of Bedford led to Sandwich's dismissal in 1751. From December, 1755, he was a joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland until February, 1763, when he was appointed ambassador extraordinary to Spain. According to Horace Walpole, Henry Fox, now supporting the weakened and unpopular Bute, nominated Sandwich to this post to revenge himself on the Duke of Cumberland, because the Duke

115. (Continued) had scornfully refused to support his alliance with Bute after the split with Grenville, note 114. Sandwich, who had been kindly "fostered and patronized" by the Duke, deserted his patron and "greedily grasped" the proffered embassy. Sandwich was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty in April, 1763, when Charles Townshend for whom the office was intended, set unallowable conditions for his service. In August of the same year Sandwich succeeded Lord Shelburne as Secretary of State, northern department, when the latter chose to remain with Chatham and resigned his seals. Sandwich held this office until July, 1765. For his later career, see note 162. (Horace Walpole, Memoirs of the Reign of King George III, ed. D. L. Marchant, London, 1845, I, 196-205, 264-265, 294-295; D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

116. The Secretary of the Admiralty at this time was Sir Phillip Stephens, 1728-1809. He was first employed as a clerk in the Navy Office in 1751. He was Secretary of the Admiralty from 1763 to 1795 when he was created a baronet, and given a seat on the Admiralty Board. (G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owen, editors, The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich, London, 1932, I, xvii, cited as Sandwich Papers.)

117. When Bute resigned his offices in 1763, Grenville was appointed First Lord of the Treasury on April 10, 1763. Bute, with his secret influence in the closet, hoped to make Grenville his tool, but Grenville strengthened by the Bedford party, including Sandwich, remained chief minister until July, 1765. (William Hunt, The Political History of England, 1760-1801, London, 1924, pp. 31-40).

118. I In 1763 the only completed bridge that Hamond would have gone through was London Bridge. Blackfriars Bridge, although started in 1761, was not opened for traffic until 1769. (Sir Walter Besant, London in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1925, p. 126).

119. The Broad Arrow was the royal mark for government supplies or stores, and was used to indicate goods seized by the government. To be in possession of goods so marked without authority was a felony. (Smyth, op. cit., 137).

120. By the "last Lord Sandwich" Hamond must have been referring to the 5th Earl, who died in 1814, the eldest surviving son of John, 4th Earl. The word "late" would have been better since the line did not cease with the 4th Earl, and still exists at the present time.

121. A galliot was a two-masted vessel with round ribs and a flattish bottom designed especially for cargo. (Smyth, op. cit., 332).

122. The first important Hovering Act of the eighteenth century was passed in 1718 (5 Geo. I. c. 11), which dealt with "the taking in of goods at sea and with vessels of fifty tons or less hovering on the coasts". Forfeiture of goods, especially coffee, tea, brandy and spirits, and visitation by officers were provided for. Steps were also made toward prosecution and seizure of the ship itself, and it was stated that all rum in casks of twenty gallons or smaller, easy of illegal handling, should be forfeited. A more stringent law was passed in 1736 (9 Geo. II. c. 35), providing for the seizure of boats of hundred tons or less that were engaged in unshipping foreign forfeitable goods, with the responsible persons being fined treble the value of the goods. Seven further acts were passed between 1736 and the change of custom policy inaugurated by William Pitt. An act in 1763 (3 Geo. III. c. 22), which is probably the one to which Hamond is referring, provided for the seizure of vessels of fifty tons or less that were hovering within two leagues on the coast, if it had on board goods that were forfeitable by previous acts. In 1765, however, any vessel a hundred tons or less importing brandy from any port became forfeitable, and in 1779, this was raised to two hundred tons. (W. E. Masterson, Jurisdiction in Marginal Seas, New York, 1929, pp. 5-46).

123. This is possibly a Germanized form of the Dutch surname, Vis, as investigation has failed to disclose a Dutch eighteenth century admiral named Fische. If this is the case, Hamond probably meant Cornelius Vis, 1714-1789, who was promoted to Rear-Admiral in 1766. Vis was convoy commandant in the Inland Sea (Mediterranean) in 1760, and in 1764 to 1765 he was a commander in Algiers. He was made Vice-Admiral in 1782, and was a member of the Zealand Admiralty. (Jarig C. Mollema, Geschiedenis Van Nederland ter Zee, Amsterdam, 1939, III, 70).

124. From an annexed paper in the rear of the first Ms book, it appears that Hamond had with him as passenger on the cutter Captain Hans Sloane of the Hampshire militia, and Hamond sent him as his messenger to the Admiral's flagship to remonstrate. Sloane was well received and called over to Hamond that the Admiral had not seen the English Jack hoisted. Hamond had this done at the "topmast stay at the bowsprit end" and the salute was given. This English Jack, apparently the Union Flag, was flown at the bowsprit end to indicate that the vessel belonged to the "King's Own Fighting Navy, and not to the Merchant Service". (G. Callender, The Naval Side of British History, Boston, 1924, p. 111).

125. The act of striking the sails as a mark of submission may generally be dated to the early years of the thirteenth century. The treaty ending the First Dutch War, in 1654, stipulated that the Dutch had to haul down their flag as well as lower their topsail when rendering the salute within the narrow seas. The King's Regulations of the late eighteenth century stated that:

> When any of His Majesty's Ships shall meet with any Ship or Ships belonging to any Foreign Prince or State, within His Majesty's Seas, (Which extend to Cape Finisterre) it is expected that the said Foreign Ships do strike their Topsail, and take in their Flag, in Acknowledgement of His Majesty's Sovereignty in those Seas; and if any shall refuse or offer to resist, it is enjoined to all Flag Officers and Commanders to use their utmost Endeavours to compel them there to, and not suffer any dishonor to be done to his Majesty."

(Quoted in Perrin, op. cit., 190).

126. The instructions for "these sort of marks of respect" were first dropped from the King's Regulations following the Battle of Trafalgar, when British naval prestige was at such a height that the insistence of this claim became inconsequential. (Perrin, op. cit., 190).

127. The half pay of captains varied from four to eight shillings a day according to seniority within rank. In 1773 Howe petitioned Parliament for a two shilling raise, which was granted. Commanders received the same half pay as the most junior captains. (Traill, op. cit., V, 212).

128. Byron, note 86, was appointed Governor of Newfoundland in January, 1769, for three years. For his career in the American Revolutionary War, see note 269.

129. In the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, France recognized British sovereignty of all Newfoundland, but she was given the right to "take and dry fish on the coast from Bonavista round the north and west coast to Point Riche", the exact points of which were often disputed. The Treaty of Paris, 1763, confirmed the French fishing rights of the earlier treaty. (A. P. Newton, "Newfoundland to 1783," in Cambridge History of the British Empire, edited by J. H. Rose, et. al, Cambridge, 1930, VI, 142-145).

130. Hamond errs here. Lord Hertford was ambassador to France in 1765, but the ambassador in 1769 was Simon Harcourt, 1st Earl Harcourt, 1714-1777. He was appointed a lord of George II's bedchamber in 1735, and was created earl in 1749. In 1751 he was governor of the young Price of Wales, the future George III. A Privy Councillor after 1751, he was ambassador to Mecklenberg in 1761, with the special mission to marry by proxy Princess Charlotte Sophia to the young king. He held various posts in the Queen's household until he was appointed ambassador extraordinary to Paris on December 4, 1768. He arrived in Paris on January 8, 1769, but was absent from Paris on leave from June 1 to November 16, 1769. (D.N.B. by G. F. Russell-Barker; D. B. Horn, British Diplomatic Representatives, 1689-1789, London, Camden Society, Third Series, 1932, XLVI, 24, 61).

131. Strong naval influence had long been present in Newfoundland government. The method of protecting the annual fishing fleet by convoy captains started in 1651, and was continuous from 1675. The Newfoundland Act of 1698 made the convoy captain the supreme authority upon whose rough sense of justice the general preservation of order depended. An Order-in-Council of 1728 appointed the convoy captain

131. (Continued) governor, generally for three years, and this constituted the main authority at this time. As a surrogate, Hamond would have been performing the duties of a judge. (Newton, loc. cit., 125-145).

132. Hans Stanley, 1720?-1780, a grandson of Sir Hans Sloane, entered Parliament in 1743, and after 1754 held a seat until his death. He was a lord of the Admiralty from 1757 to 1765, and although a follower of Newcastle, he formed a close association with Pitt, who sent him to Paris as a diplomatic agent on May 24, 1761, but this negotiation failed, and he was ordered home in September. Stanley was keenly disappointed that he was not selected to continue the negotiations the next year. He was sworn of the Privy Council in November, 1762, and in July, 1764, he was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight. He was one of the trustees of his grandfather's collection, and he carried on many correspondences, including one with Hamond from 1772 to 1776. (D.N.B. by W. P. Courtney).

133. In early 1761, France and her allies invited England and Prussia to a general peace congress. Choiseul, who had replaced Belleisle at the French War Office in February, 1761, suggested a separate negotiation between France and England, and respresentatives were exchanged with Stanley going over to Paris. This brought to a head the long struggle for power between Pitt and the Newcastle-Bute forces who desired immediate peace. Pitt, in attempting to impose hard terms of peace, now had to deal with Choiseul; furthermore, in March, 1761, Bute replaced Holderness as Secretary of State for the northern department. Stanley's mission was doomed to failure, as Choiseul on July 20, 1761, held that "the settlement of Spanish disputes with England was essential" to any permanent peace, and soon after this the Family Compact was signed. (Hunt, op. cit., 23-24; Corbett, op. cit., II, 171-181).

134. John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford, 1710-1771, was First Lord of the Admiralty, 1744 to 1748, and then Secretary of State until 1751. He joined forces with Bute soon after George III's accession, and in supporting the peace party, he gained a reputation as the only one who could stand up to Pitt in debate. After Pitt's resignation, October 2, 1761, Bedford became Lord Privy

134. (Continued) Seal, and in 1762 he went to Paris to continue negotiations, where he departed from his instructions by allowing the French a share in the North American fisheries. He signed the preliminaries on November 3, 1762, and the treaty itself on February 10, 1763. (D.N.B. by W. Hunt).

135. Paultons, near Romsey, was inherited by Hans Stanley from his father in 1734, and as Stanley was a bachelor, it passed, subject to a life interest of his sisters, to his cousin Hans Sloane, a nephew of Sir Hans Sloane. (D.N.B. by W. P. Courtney).

136. The Privy Garden was originally the private garden of the Royal Palace at Whitehall, now the area behind Whitehall called Whitehall Gardens.

137. Hans Sloane, see note 124, a captain in the Hampshire militia, was the cousin of Hans Stanley, being the son of a younger brother of Sir Hans Sloane.

138. William Gordon, who did not succeed to his baronetcy until 1775, was secretary to James Porter, Ambassador at Constantinople, 1746-1762. He was then minister at Ratisbon from 1764 to 1765 before he went to Brussels in December 1765, where he stayed until May, 1776. In 1770 he was sent by the cabinet to Paris to prevent war "by prevailing on Louis XV ... to compel the Spanish Court to accomodate the points in dispute" over the Falkland Isles. (H. B. Wheatley, ed., Memoirs of Sir N. W. Wraxall, London, 1884, I, 350; Horn, op. cit., 10, 42, 153).

139. This general Press resulted from the Falkland Islands episode, described below. The Peace Establishment of the Navy in 1770 was only 16,000 men, and Lord North declared that an extra 9,000 seamen were needed. The government offered bounties of thirty shillings for able seamen, and London offered an additional bounty of two pounds. (Clowes, op. cit., III, 339-340).

140. This promotion was general, extending from Vice-Admiral Holburne, who was made Admiral of the White, down to Richard Howe, who was one of seven new Rear-Admirals of the Blue. The promotion took place on October 18, 1770.

141. Howe, note 113, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean squadron on November 26, 1770. Hawke, who was First Lord of the Admiralty, was much criticized for his nomination of such a junior officer as Howe for this post. (Barrow, op. cit., 78-80).

142. The Barfleur was launched at Chatham in 1768. She weighed 1947 tons, and had a length of keel of 144 feet. (Clowes, op. cit., III, 335).

143. The First Captain to the Commander-in-Chief of a fleet ranked as a flag officer in the distribution of prize money, but this office was allowed only when there were twenty sail of the line or more. This was directed by the Duke of York in 1672, and was reaffirmed by George III in 1782. (Clowes, op. cit., III, 334).

144. This was James Harris, 1746-1820, 1st Earl of Malmesbury, who was left in Madrid as chargé d'affaires in the absence of the ambassador in August, 1769. In August, 1770, Harris heard of the Spanish expedition against the Falkland Islands, and on his own responsibility confronted Grimaldi with great vigor. In January, 1771, when war seemed likely he was ordered to leave Madrid. His handling of this situation was much commended and in March, 1771, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary in Madrid. (D.N.B. by J. A. Hamilton; V. L. Brown, "Anglo-Spanish Relations in America", Hispanic American Historical Review, V, 1922, 420-443).

145. France made a settlement on one of the large eastern Falkland islands in 1764 and then ceded it to Spain, while Britain made a settlement, Port Egmont, on one of the western islands in 1765. Choiseul and Grimaldi, having greatly rehabilitated their navies, hoped to humble England, and this situation was "the culmination of a long series of hostile measures". In February, 1770, two Spanish frigates put into Port Egmont claiming that it belonged to Spain, and in June, 1770, Buccarelli, Governor of Buenos Aires, forcibly took the island with sixteen hundred Spanish troops. Harris, at Madrid, remonstrated, but received no satisfaction since Grimaldi was expecting French support. Louis XV, however, under the influence of Madame du Barry, did not want war.

145. (Continued) Choiseul, therefore, was finally dismissed, and Grimaldi had to give way, with Buccarelli's action being repudiated on January 22, 1771. The western island was restored, although the British withdrew in 1774, not to occupy permanently the islands until 1833. (V. L. Brown, loc. cit., 387-447; Arthur Hassall, The Balance of Power, London, 1939, pp. 326-328).

146. Sir Thomas Pye, 1713?-1785, first posted in 1741, was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1758, but he held no commands during the Seven Years War. In 1771, as Vice-Admiral of the Red, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, a post he held until 1773 when he was knighted. He also commanded at Portsmouth from 1777 to 1783, and while there he was president of Keppel's court martial. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

147. Sir Peter Parker, 1721-1811, had been a captain since 1747. He served in the West Indies from 1757 to 1760, and in 1761 he took part in the capture of Belle Isle under Keppel. At the peace he was put on half pay, and he held no further commands until 1773, when he was appointed to the Barfleur. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

148. Parker's post rank dated from May 6, 1747. At this time, July, 1771, according to Hardy's list, note 74, Howe was the most junior Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and there were sixteen captains senior to Parker, (Hardy, op. cit., 57-59). This principle of seniority within rank reared its head around 1700 when a certain number of unemployed officers were put on half pay. The Admiralty in 1700 made the first list to determine this number, but until 1814 these lists were not official, being privately sponsored by the officers themselves, because the Admiralty was still thinking in terms of the "post" to which a man was appointed, while the officers were developing the modern idea of rank, which a man holds regardless of the "post" he commands. The influence of Hamond's patrons is very evident here. (Lewis, op. cit., 258-262).

149. John Jervis, Earl of St. Vincent, 1735-1823, entered the Navy as an able-bodied seaman in 1749 becoming a midshipman in 1752. As a lieutenant he saw a lot of service on the North American station, and he led the advance squadron past Quebec in 1759. In February, 1769, he commanded the Alarm, 32, commonly said to be the first copper sheathed ship in the British Navy, see note 310, and he cruised in it in the Mediterranean returning to England in May, 1771. Possibly Jervis preferred Mediterranean service, for he returned there in the Alarm in August, 1771, with orders to attend the Duke of Gloucester, who had been ordered to spend the winter in Italy. St. Vincent's more famous actions took place after Hamond concluded his autobiography. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

150. John Montague, 1719-1795, was posted in 1746, and in 1757, he superintended the execution of his quarter deck of Admiral Byng. He saw considerable service in the Seven Years War, and in 1762, he took over the Magnanime after Howe left that ship. Promoted to Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1770, he commanded the North American station from March, 1771, to June, 1774, and the Newfoundland station from 1776 to 1778. He was promoted Admiral of the White in 1787. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

151. The Arethusa underwent repairs in the Thames until August 14, 1771. She passed the Lizard on November 4, 1771, and arrived off Cape Henry on December 26. Hamond stayed at Norfolk until May 3, 1772, refitting and resting his crew from the fevers that had swept the ship. The Arethusa was in Boston from May 19 to August 4, and in New York from then until September 12. Then came two weeks in the Delaware River during which time he entertained Governor Penn. After a short stay in Hampton Roads in October, the ship wintered at Rhode Island, giving support to the commission investigating the burning of the schooner Gaspee the previous year. In the summer of 1773 the Arethusa cruised in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and left Halifax for England on October 11, 1773. (An Account of the Progress and Proceedings of H. M. Frigate Arethusa, 32, between 17 June 1771 and 28 November 1773 during the time she was commanded by Capt. A. S. Hamond, kept by himself, unpublished MS McGregor Library, University of Virginia. Cited as Hamond, Proceedings.)

152. Hamond, in April, 1772, while the Arethusa was at Norfolk, sent a memorial to the King from Williamsburg desiring "a grant of 20,000 acres of land, free of quit rent". In March, 1773, Hamond's friend Hans Stanley wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth desiring "to know what hopes may be entertained of the success of Hamond's memorial". Apparently nothing came from this, and the grounds upon which Hamond predicated his request are unknown. (Historical Manuscripts Commission, The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth, London, 1895, Fourteenth Report, Part X, 133, 144).

153. John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, 1732-1809, descended in the female line from the house of Stuart, sat in the House of Lords as a Scottish peer from 1761 to 1769. He was appointed Governor of New York in 1770, and in 1771 Governor of Virginia, succeeding such able men as Fauquier and Botetourt. He first met the House of Burgesses at the 1772 session and thereafter, whenever they became seditious, he dissolved them, as in 1773, for appointing the committees of correspondence, and in 1774, over the crisis of the Boston Port Bill. In June, 1775, he conveyed the Assembly to consider Lord North's conciliatory propositions, but after a riot, he deserted his Williamsburg palace and moved, on June 5, 1775, on board the Fowey off Yorktown, which became the seat of government. For his later career, see note 193. (D.A.B. by L. P. Kellog; H. J. Eckenrode, The Revolution in Virginia, New York, 1916, p. 52).

154. Hamond wrote his Autobiography at a time when Washington's greatness had already been firmly established in history. At an earlier time, during the Revolutionary War, Hamond wrote of Washington as a man "of dull parts yet not without some military knowledge". (A. S. Hamond, Account of the American War, 1775-1777, unpublished MS. in the McGregor Library, University of Virginia. See preface, page iv. Cited as Hamond, Account).

155. The Stamp Act, proposed by George Grenville, had been passed by Parliament on March 22, 1765, to go into effect on November 1, 1765. American resistance to the Act was led by Samuel Adams, and by Patrick Henry, who introduced resolutions in the Virginia House of Burgesses denying the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. George III laid the blame for this upon Grenville who,

155. (Continued) being dismissed, was succeeded by Rockingham. The colonists were not to forget their success in intimidating Parliament which repealed the Stamp Act in March, 1766. (R. Frothingham, Rise of the Republic, Boston, 1902, pp. 175ff.)

156. Washington was reelected to the House of Burgesses in December, 1771, but the next session of the Assembly did not meet until February 10, 1772. In Washington's opinion little was done at this session; there was debate over the proposal for an American bishop, and other local affairs. The Assembly was prorogued on April 11 to meet on June 25, 1772, but Hamond had left Virginia by that time. The 1773 session had more significance from the point of view of throwing off the "British yoke", for then Richard Henry Lee and other young radicals proposed the organization of intercolonial committees of correspondence. (Freeman, op. cit., III, 287-290; Eckenrode, op. cit., 32, 33).

157. The Arethusa arrived at Spithead on November 4, 1773. She was laid up in ordinary, or decommissioned, with the crew being paid off on November 28, 1773. (Hamond, Proceedings).

158. The Secretary of the Admiralty was Sir Phillip Stephens. See note 116.

159. The three tea ships had their cargo destroyed on December 16, 1773, and this, more than any one single act, had the effect of convincing England that taxation in America could be enforced only by military power. Political opinion in England, which had generally favored repeal of the Stamp Act, now became quite indignant over the idea of further concessions, and demanded strict measures. The Boston Port Act, the Regulating Act, the Quartering Act, and the Act for Impartial Administration of Justice were all passed by Parliament in the spring of 1774. (W. E. H. Lecky, The American Revolution, New York, 1928, pp. 153-167).

160. Thomas Gage, 1721-1787, received his first commission as a lieutenant in 1741. He became lieutenant-colonel of the 44th Foot in March, 1751, and commanded the advance column under General Braddock on the march

160. (Continued) to Fort Duquesne in 1754. Later he served under Amherst in the conquest of Canada, and he was Governor of Montreal in 1760. A major-general in 1761, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in North America in 1764 holding that post until 1773. He then returned to England and advised George III and Lord North on the best method to force submission on the Bostonians, advice which was reflected in the coercive measures. In 1774 he was appointed "Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief" of Massachusetts Bay to enforce the Port Act, and he arrived in Boston in May, succeeding the colonial Hutchinson. He had six regiments with him, but by then the task of reconciling the Bostonians had grown almost insuperable. He remained in Boston after the battle at Lexington, and his pessimism over the possibility of attacking the Americans from Boston after the Battle of Bunker Hill led eventually to his recall. Washington shut him up in Boston, and although he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in North America in August, 1775, he resigned the post in October being succeeded by General Howe. He became a full general in 1782. (D.N.B. by H. M. Chichester; G. O. Trevelyan, The American Revolution, London, 1905, I, 165; Allen French, The First Year of The American Revolution, New York, 1931, p. 531).

161. This must be qualified because the reinforcement was sent to Admiral Samuel Graves, who was commanding the North American station after June 30, 1774; he was sent to America with General Gage to enforce the coercive measures, being succeeded by Molyneux Shuldham, 1717?-1798. Shuldham was posted in 1746, and, as a commodore, commanded the Newfoundland station from 1772 to 1775 when he was promoted Rear-Admiral of the White. In September, 1775, he was named to the American command, and arrived in Boston on December 30, relieving in January, 1776, Admiral Graves, whom English critics blamed for lack of success. Shuldham was in turn relieved by Richard, Lord Howe, in June, 1776, and he returned to England where he commanded at Plymouth from 1778 to 1783. When superseded by Howe, Shuldham was promoted to vice-admiral and Sandwich secured for him an Irish peerage. (Sandwich Papers, I, 41-42, 119; D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

162. Although the Bedford faction rejoined the administration in 1767, Sandwich's unpopularity at the time, which earned him the name of 'Jemmy Twitcher', prevented him from holding any major office until Lord Weymouth's resignation in December, 1770, when he became Secretary of State for the Northern Department. After that Sandwich moved over to the Admiralty upon Hawke's retirement on January 12, 1771, and he was, despite his rivals, First Lord until the fall of North's administration in 1782. (Sandwich Papers, I, xi-xiii).

163. Tne Roebuck, launched in 1774, had a length of keel of 116 feet, of gun deck of 140 feet, and a draft of 16 feet; she weighed 886 tons. (Clowes, op. cit., III, 335).

164. Sir Thomas Slade was Surveyor of the Navy from 1755 to 1771. As such he played a considerable part in the development of naval architecture, and the first of the twelve pound thirty-six-gun frigates were built under his superintendence in 1757. (Clowes, op. cit., III, passim.)

165. Hamond was ordered, on August 25, 1775, to proceed first to Halifax, where he was to leave his passenger, Commodore Marriot Arbuthnot, Commissioner of the Dockyard there, and then to Boston to deliver dispatches to Admiral Graves. He sailed from Spithead on September 9 arriving in Halifax on November 8, but Arbuthnot, assuming command there, detained him to assist in the defense of that port, which was extremely poorly prepared to resist either a land or sea attack. (Sandwich to Hamond; Hamond to Graves, 9 November, 1775, Roebuck's Letter Book, 1775-1777; Arbuthnot to Sandwich, 14 January, 1776, Sandwich Papers, I, 116. All letters unless otherwise noted are in the Roebuck's Letter Books in the Hamond Papers in the Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.)

166. The British Army, after Bunker Hill, lay quiescent in Boston, first under Gage and then under General Howe. On October 1, 1775, it consisted of sixty-four hundred effectives--hardly an adequate force to attack the entrenched colonists. Howe, whose supply situation steadily

166. (Continued) deteriorated by the loss of victuallers to American privateers, was given permission to withdraw from Boston, but on March 5, 1776, Washington by occupying Dorchester Heights, forced his evacuation of the city. (French, op. cit., 527 ff.)

167. The first privateering--unauthorized--took place from New Bedford, Massachusetts, only two weeks after the battles at Lexington and Concord. Rhode Island was the first state to create a navy, on June 15, 1775, followed by Massachusetts in late August. These small squadrons alarmed the British, to whom they were pirates, by attacking their unarmed supply ships bound for Boston. Not until November 1, 1775, did the General Court of Massachusetts pass an Act encouraging the fitting out of privateers, and the Continental Congress did not do this until March 23, 1776. The word "Privateer" is generally regarded as a contradiction of private man-of-war, contrasted to the King's Ships, and it first came into use around 1650. (G. W. Allen, Naval History of the American Revolution, New York, 1913, I, 42-46; C. O. Paullin, The Navy of the American Revolution; Cleveland, 1906, pp. 339-340, 463-464; French, op. cit., 365-366).

168. Admiral Graves ordered Hamond to proceed to Virginia and to command, in the absence of a senior officer, all ships there. He was to guard the Delaware River with cruisers until "the Navigation is open and His Majesty's Ships can anchor in the River, when you are immediately to repair there in the Roebuck". (Graves to Hamond, 25 December, 1775, and 17 January, 1776).

169. These obstructions were called chevaux de frise.

> They were formed of large heavy squares of timber. Two long ones, at a proper parallel distance from each other, formed the horizontal base which was to rest on the base of the river. Right over these were placed two others of similar size, rising from toward the end of the horizontal base, in such an angular direction, that any vessel sailing against them must be pierced by their elevated ends, which were for that purpose, fortified with strong iron points, but did not appear above the surface of the water.

(Beatson, op. cit., iv, 125-126).

170. Benjamin Franklin, 1706-1790, returned to America from England in May, 1775, and in June the Pennsylvania Assembly appointed him to the Committee of Safety. This group on June 15, 1775, ordered these chevaux de frise put in the river; they may not have been Franklin's invention, but they were certainly "one of his special projects". Seventeen of them were in place in the river by the end of September. (C. Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin, New York, 1941, pp. 532-534).

171. William Legge, 2d Earl of Dartmouth, 1731-1801, took his seat in the House of Lords in 1754, and in August, 1772, he succeeded Lord Hillsborough as Secretary of State for the Colonies under Lord North with whom he had toured the continent when young. He held this office until November, 1775, when he was appointed Lord Privy Seal, being succeeded by Lord George Germain. In March, 1775, he conveyed to the colonial governors North's conciliatory proposals with sincere recommendations for their consideration, but by March, 1776, he stated that the solution to the American problem was "an overwhelming force". (D.N.B. by G. F. Russell-Barker).

172. Hamond left Halifax on January 14, 1776, after having helped Arbuthnot fortify the dockyard there. He went straight to Virginia, but contrary winds prevented his reaching Hampton Roads until February 9. Here he found about fifty vessels gathered together with Governor Dunmore and some loyalists living on board. On February 22, Hamond sent the Kingfisher, 18, and another sloop to cruise off the Delaware according to Graves' orders. Hamond in the Roebuck did not leave Virginia until March 21, and he was joined by the Liverpool, 28, in Delaware Bay on May 2. As both ships were short of water, they sailed up the river to Wilmington on May 7, to replenish their water and to reconnoitre the American defenses. (Hamond, Account).

173. The British squadron in the Norfolk area on February 9, 1776, when Hamond assumed command, consisted of the Liverpool, 28, Henry Bellew; Fowey, 20, George Montague; Kingfisher, 18, Alexander Graeme; Otter, 16, Matthew Squire; two other sloops and six or seven tenders. (Roebuck's Order Book, 1775-1777).

174. Sir John Orde, 1751-1824, was commissioned a lieutenant in 1774, and moved the next year into the Roebuck where he stayed until 1777, when he was shifted to the flagship Eagle, see page 70. In early 1778, he was promoted to command the sloop Zebra in which he assisted at the reduction of the Delaware River forts. He was posted in May, 1778, to the frigate Virginia, and he was present at the capture of Charleston in 1780. In July, 1781, when Arbuthnot moved his flag into the Roebuck, Orde became his flag-captain, commanding her for the rest of the war. In 1783 he was Governor of Dominica, being created a baronet in 1790. He was Admiral of the Blue in 1805. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

175. John Penn, 1729-1795, grandson of William Penn, was commissioned in 1763 by his father, Richard Penn, and his uncle, to be Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania. He kept this office until 1771, and resumed it again in 1773 only to be displaced by the revolutionary Supreme Executive Countil in 1776. In 1777 he was temporarily imprisoned on grounds of performing overt acts against the American cause, but he was paroled and lived most of his later years in Pennsylvania. (D.A.B. by H. J. Cadbury).

176. The American flotilla, consisting of thirteen row galleys, or armed boats, each carrying a single gun anywhere from 18 to 32-pounders, a sloop fitted as a fireship, and a floating battery of ten 18-pounders, attacked the Roebuck and the Liverpool on the afternoon of May 8, 1776. (Hamond, Account).

177. In attempting to close on the galleys, which were fifty feet long with twelve oarsmen on a side, Hamond reported that the Roebuck grounded at highwater an hour before dark, but "as it was soft mud the ship did not receive the least damage", and she was floated off early the next morning. (Hamond, Account).

178. Hamond left Delaware Bay on May 16 intending to join Sir Peter Parker and the expedition destined for failure before Charlestown, but receiving intelligence from Dunmore that the flotilla at Norfolk was about to be attacked, he went to their aid, arriving there on May 19. (Hamond, Account).

179. Hamond's departure from the Delaware was not without repercussions for Lord Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to the Admiralty on August 16, 1776, asking that Admiral Howe investigate the delay in the stationing of a squadron in the Delaware and further "why were the Roebuck and the Liverpool removed from that River when they had been stationed there". (Germain to the Admiralty; Howe to Shuldham, Eagle off New York, November 25, 1776, both in Roebuck's Letter Book).

180. John Hancock wrote to George Washington on May 16, 1776, that the English reached Christiana Creek, ten leagues from Philadelphia, where they were attacked by thirteen Provincial armed ships. The Roebuck went aground late in the action of the 8th, and the Liverpool anchored to cover her. The next day, Hancock reports, the armed boats forced the English below Newcastle, six miles from the first action, and the carpenters worked for two days "patching and mending" holes in the Roebuck, which would be irritating to Sandwich since the ship was his favorite, and the "captain is also of his particular appointment". (Peter Force, comp., American Archives, Fourth Series, VI, 408).

181. Other American reports give another story. A report on May 18 from the thirteen galley commanders stated that they only failed to take the grounded Roebuck prize because they were out of ammunition. The sworn report of William Barry, an American sailor, captured in March by the Lord Howe, tender to the Roebuck, and who was present on the Roebuck at the time of the engagement, adds that, as the tide ebbed, the Roebuck heeled so that her guns could not bear in case of an American attack, which was expected all night, but that she was floated around four o'clock on the morning of the 9th. Barry reported that in the engagement of the 9th, the Roebuck received many hits with some going "quite through", and he also revealed that the Roebuck prepared to send a plundering party to burn Newcastle on the night of the 9th, but that the proximity of the American galleys prevented it. (American Archives, Fourth Series, VI, 498, 809-811).

182. These half galleys were smaller vessels than the regular galleys described above. A description of the second attack up the Delaware is given by Hamond below. Hamond does not mention Gilbert in his Account, but during the winter of 1777-1778, when Hamond commanded the naval forces in Philadelphia, Gilbert was the Harbor Master. (Hamond to Order, 13 March, 1778).

183. Governor Eden, see note 194, was one of the last governors forced to leave their posts. Hamond, on Eden's initiative, ordered Captain Montague of the Fowey into Annapolis to pick him up. The Fowey left Annapolis on June 26. (Hamond to Montague, 16 June, 1776.)

184. Much of the responsibility of the burning of Norfolk must be laid upon Dunmore whose actions after leaving Williamsburg were generally responsible for his precarious position at Norfolk. His belligerent attitude had forced the Committee of Safety to move against him, and hostilities began in mid-November. Dunmore's volunteers and two companies of the 14th foot were defeated by the Second Virginia Regiment at Great Bridge on December 9, 1775, resulting in Dunmore's withdrawal to the ships and the American occupation of Norfolk on December 14. Dunmore, on a pretext that his supply boat crews were being ill treated, bombarded the nearly deserted town on January 1, 1776. The American soldiers continued the arson started by the English sailors, and in two days two-thirds of the town was destroyed. The Americans withdrew on February 6, 1776, burning the remainder of the town when Sir Henry Clinton and his squadron temporarily anchored offshore. Hamond's arrival on February 9 permitted the English to establish a beachhead at Tuckers Mills for the procurement of some supplies. Dunmore, unlike the diplomatic Governor Eden of Maryland, played into the hands of the revolutionists and deprived the British of a loyalist center that could have formed a strong, natural base. (American Archives, Fourth Series, IV, 351, 477; Eckenrode, op. cit., 58ff; French, op. cit., 575, 642-643).

185. Major-General Charles Lee, commissioned by the Continental Congress, was ordered on March 29, 1776, to command all Continental and local forces to make Dunmore

185. (Continued) evacuate Norfolk, and thus end the depredations on American property that had been taking place. (Eckenrode, op. cit., 90-91).

186. The American batteries, reported Hamond, could have prevented the squadron from getting out of the river, which was less than a half mile wide. The troops guarding the beachhead embarked on May 22, and the whole squadron moved down to Hampton Roads, which took three days as many of the ships were without seamen. (Hamond, Account).

187. The assembled English ships sailed from Hampton Roads on May 26, arriving at Gwynn's Island the next day. Dunmore erected two small forts on the island, but they were within cannon range of the mainland. At this time the British effectives, including the marines of the squadron, were down to two hundred men as outbreaks of smallpox and fever had swept the entire group. The Roebuck, with a crew of three hundred, had lost thirty men, with some seventy more on the sick list. (Hamond, Account).

188. It was General Andrew Lewis, 1720-1781, commissioned a brigadier-general by Congress on March 1, 1776, who compelled the British to evacuate Gwynn's Island, and not General Lee who had forced their withdrawal from Norfolk.

189. The Americans opened their bombardment of Gwynn's Island on the morning of July 9, forcing two English tenders to run ashore, and only the lack of boats prevented their driving the English off the island immediately. Boats were soon secured and the island was stormed on the 10th, causing Dunmore to evacuate post haste, creating much confusion in the floating town. The squadron arrived off St. George's Island in the mouth of the Potomac on July 11. (American Archives, Fifth Series, I, 150).

190. Admiral Howe was raised to Vice-Admiral of the Blue in February, 1776. He was at that time appointed Commander-in-Chief of the North American station, also receiving, on May 4, a joint commission with his brother, the general, to treat with the Americans. However, he did not arrive in New York until July 12, and the declaration

190. (Continued) of independence being already proclaimed, successful negotiation on the basis of his commission was impossible. (Sandwich Papers, I, 45).

191. William Howe, 1729-1814, had made a brilliant record during the Seven Years War, being present at the capture of Louisbourg, Quebec, Belle Isle, and at Havana. He was promoted to major-general in 1772, but he was already in America, for he was the senior officer of the reinforcements sent out to Gage, leaving England on April 20, 1775. After his command at Bunker Hill, he rather unwillingly succeeded Gage as Commander-in-Chief on October 10, 1775. He withdrew from Boston to Halifax in March, 1776, and there he learnt of the projected attack on New York. He moved his troops to Staten Island, and waited for reinforcements and his brother. (D.N.B. by H. M. Chichester).

192. This was North's Prohibitory Act introduced into Parliament on November 20, 1775, which prohibited trade with the thirteen colonies by the too simple expedient of declaring American property--ships and goods in harbor or on the seas--forfeit to the captors, thus enriching, said the Parliamentary opposition, a few of Sandwich's favorite post-captains. This act also led to the appointment of the Howes in April, 1776, as commissioners to America to grant pardon for submission. (Trevelyan, op. cit., II, 59-63; Hunt, op. cit., 162-163).

193. Although Dunmore, the "African Hero" to Richard Henry Lee, had enjoyed some popularity before 1775, his actions from then until he finally left the Virginia scene caused much needless antagonism. His many injudicious acts had not only lost for Britain the support of many loyalists, but also greatly aided the struggling Americans. In opposing Hamond's plan to dispose of the disease-riden fleet, on which many refugees had been cooped up for more than six months, he showed typical lack of awareness of realities. The Americans were aware of this difference between the two because one of Dunmore's commissioned officers deserted, and told the Maryland Council of Safety that the two were "at variance". Dunmore returned to England by way of New York. He

193. (Continued) again became a Scottish peer in Parliament, and from 1787 to 1796, he was Governor of the Bahamas. (American Archives, Fifth Series, I, 432, 907; D.A.B. by L. P. Kellog).

194. Robert Eden, 1741-1784, brother of William Eden, Lord Auckland, joined Hamond at Gwynn's Land on June 30. Eden, who rose to be a captain in the Seven Years War, married in 1765, the sister of Frederick, sixth and last Lord Baltimore, and he owed his advancement to his in-laws, for he was commissioned Governor of Maryland in 1768, replacing Horatio Sharpe in Annapolis in 1769. Almost his entire administration was concerned with disputes with the Assembly over the Fee Bill, and with relations with the mother country. His diplomacy in yielding to the revolutionary storm made possible his long retention of the Marylander's respect. It was not until they intercepted an injudicious letter from Lord Germain in April, 1776, that his withdrawal was demanded. He communicated with Hamond on May 26, and the Fowey arrived in Annapolis on June 22 to take him away, with the Council of Safety taking affectionate leave of him. In one of his last letters to Maryland, Eden stated that he had nothing to do with the management of the fleet, and that he was living in the Levant, a store ship. (B. C. Steiner, Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden, Baltimore, 1898, pp. 7-17, 101-140).

195. The British flotilla completed these arrangements at St. George's Island where some twenty unseaworthy vessels were destroyed. When all was ready, the Otter sailed on August 5, convoying fifty sail for St. Augustine, and the Fowey escorted, for twenty leagues to sea, seven sail for England bearing ex-Governor Eden, on August 6. (Hamond, Account).

196. Hamond and Dunmore sailed from St. George's Island on August 5, 1776, with five tenders and five transports. They arrived off Sandy Hook on the 13th where they met Sir Peter Parker returning from Charleston, and together they proceeded into New York. (Hamond, Account).

197. General Howe, escorted by Admiral Shuldham, left Halifax on June 11, and landed his army on Staten Island on July 3, to be joined on the 12th by Admiral Howe

197. (Continued) in the Eagle, who had just missed his brother at Halifax. The troop transports, convoyed by Commodore Hotham, did not reach New York until August, and on the 22nd, 15,000 men were landed on Long Island, but four days were spent in reconnoitring before the main engagement occurred on the 27th. (J. B. Fortescue, History of the British Army, London, 1911, III, 183-185).

198. In order to support the English left wing under General Grant, which ran into stiff opposition from the American division of Lord Stirling, Sir Peter Parker, with five vessels, attempted to work around toward New York. The wind and the tide handicapped this manoeuver, and only the Roebuck was able to engage, dueling ineffectively with the fort at Red Hook, despite her "tacking with conspicuous skill". (Freeman, op. cit., IV, 164; Beatson, op. cit., IV, 161).

199. Washington withdrew from Long Island on August 29, and from New York on September 15, because Howe transferred his army to Kipp's Bay, (the present East 34th Street). Hotham supervised the boat work, and Hamond was a part of the covering force for this disembarkation, which General Clinton commanded, taking his post on board the Roebuck. (Hamond, Account).

The British strategy to control the Hudson was furthered when Hamond in the Roebuck with two other frigates forced the Americans to abandon Paulus Hook, opposite New York, thus allowing unmolested entrance into the North Riber. (Beatson, op. cit., IV, 167).

Howe outflanked Washington's position at Harlem by landing at Throg's Neck, near New Rochelle, on October 12, cutting Washington's communications with the lower Connecticut towns and forcing him to withdraw to White Plains where he attacked him on October 28. Howe then withdrew so that he could either threaten Fort Washington, securing the American right, or cross into New Jersey. (Fortescue, op. cit., III, 188-192).

200. This was not the first time, however, that the forts had been passed, for Captain Hyde Parker had spent thirty-five days up the Hudson in July and

200. (Continued) August. One of Washington's objectives was to keep open communications with the country west of the Hudson, and this passage of the forts, on October 9, had serious implications for the Americans. The pause in operations to which Hamond refers was caused by negotiations between the Howes and the Congress. (W. M. James, The British Navy in Adversity, London, 1924, pp. 45-46).

201. On this occasion the ships got under way from Bloomingdale, led again by Hyde Parker in the Phoenix. The passage through the obstructions was supposed to have been known by a deserter, but at the last minute Parker had to lead the way himself. Hamond states the ships were under fire for more than an hour; but they suffered little damage considering the "well served" batteries on the Jersey shore. (Hamond to Shuldham, 7 November, 1776, in Sandwich Papers, I, 166-168).

Washington in his report of October 9 to Congress was greatly disappointed that the ships ran past the forts "without the least difficulty". He did not know where they were going, but feared that they would intercept some badly needed supplies. (American Archives, Fifth Series, II, 942).

202. James Watt was sent by Admiral Howe to replace Lieutenant Orde who had been taken into Howe's ship, the Eagle, see note 174. In 1778, Hamond put Watt in command of the captured Delaware frigate, and Lord Howe and the Admiralty confirmed this. See note 235.

203. Washington would have withdrawn into New Jersey after the engagement at White Plains, but deferring to his generals, he did not cross the Hudson until November 13, 1776. General Howe attacked and captured Fort Washington on November 16, and Cornwallis almost succeeded in capturing General Greene and the whole Fort Lee garrison on November 18. On the 24th, Cornwallis was heavily reinforced and he pushed forward through Brunswick to Trenton, but Washington just managed to cross the Delaware River ahead of him. (Freeman, op. cit., IV, 239-241; Fortescue, op. cit., III, 193-197).

204. Charles Cornwallis, 1738-1805, 1st Marquis and 2nd Earl Cornwallis, an ensign in 1756, received much of his military education on the continent, being present at Minden as an aide to Granby. In 1761 he became lieutenant-colonel of the Twelfth Regiment and saw considerable action during the remainder of that war. By 1775 he had risen to be major-general, and in February, 1776, he sailed for Halifax in command of seven regiments of infantry, where he was subordinate to Howe. He took part in the Staten and Long Island operations, the battle of Long Island, and the capture of New York. (D.N.B. by H. M. Stephens).

205. Hamond rejoined Admiral Howe at New York on November 27, and on December 1, Howe put him in command of five frigates to cruise in the Delaware, to blockade Philadelphia, to cooperate with Generals Howe and Cornwallis, and to destroy some newly built American frigates. Hamond arrived with his squadron in the Delaware on December 7, but waited in vain for the British army to take Philadelphia, which he believed was only prevented by "the difficulty of crossing the river so late in the season". (Hamond, Account).

206. General Howe wanted to push on to the Delaware as soon as possible after crossing into New Jersey, and he reinforced Cornwallis. Howe himself joined Cornwallis at Brunswick on December 6th, and at Princeton, the British were only an hour behind the retreating Washington. Howe regrouped at Princeton giving Washington time to cross the Delaware at Trenton and to remove all the boats from the north bank. (Fortescue, op. cit., III, 195-196).

207. Hamond left the Delaware on January 20, arriving at English Harbor, Antigua, on January 27, taking several prizes en route. He remained there until March 16, 1777, because the naval yard was slow in refitting his ships and because his crews were very sick. After watering at St. Christopher, he returned to the Delaware on April 6, 1777. (Hamond to Howe, 6 April 1777).

208. This brig was renamed the Defense; for Orde, see note 174. The Roebuck herself, up to the close of 1776, had made a total of 22 seizures of size enough to be included in Howe's dispatch of March 31, 1777 to the Admiralty. (Quoted in J. Almon, Remembrancer, V, 103).

209. William Hotham, 1736-1813, a captain of August, 1757, commanded guardships at Plymouth and Portsmouth after The Seven Years War. In 1776, as commodore and not yet admiral, he was appointed to the Preston, 50, and arrived in New York in August convoying some military and naval reinforcements. For his later career, see note 328. (Sandwich Papers, I, 45).

210. Hotham arrived in the Chesapeake Bay on January 19, 1777, and stayed there until February 11. He arrived off Delaware Bay on February 17, but heavy weather forced him away until March 11. (Howe to Admiralty, March 31, 1777, in Remembrancer, V, 102-103).

211. Admiral Howe instructed Hotham on December 23, 1776, to proceed to the south and stop southern commerce, to continue the blockade originally placed on the area by Hamond, and to observe the American defenses of the Delaware River. (Howe to Hotham, quoted in T. S. Anderson, The Command of the Howe Brothers during the American Revolution, Oxford, 1936, pp. 233-234, 278).

212. This ship was the Morris, which had been sent to France for powder and military stores, said to be worth, Hamond says, £50,000. (Hamond, Account).

213. Hotham returned to New York to command the naval squadron there that was to cooperate with General Clinton when the Howes left New York for the expedition bound for Philadelphia. (Howe to Admiralty, June 8, 1777, in Remembrancer, V, 230).

214. General Howe's detailed tentative plans for the 1777 campaign were first set forth for consideration in his letter to Germain of November 30, 1776. This first plan included two major attacks in the New England area, one of which was ultimately to meet Burgoyne's northern army. A third force was to stay in New Jersey to keep Washington in check, and then later in the year was to advance on Philadelphia. However, in his letter of December 20, 1776, after the British advance through New Jersey but before the Trenton and Princeton setbacks, General Howe completely changed his plan. The main object was now to take Philadelphia as he believed, from new information, that its speedy capture would be

214. (Continued) a heavy blow to the revolutionary morale of the people. Germain quickly approved this second plan; it needed fewer reinforcements from England. Originally Howe envisioned advancing through New Jersey, but he proposed on April 2, 1777, in order to conserve troops, that he invade Pennsylvania by sea and "abandon the Jerseys". This significant change meant that there would be no contact between the British forces until Philadelphia was captured. (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, Hereford, 1910, II, 45-50, 53-53, 58-59, 63-65, cited as Germain Papers; The Narrative of Lieutenant-General Sir William Howe, London, 1780, pp. 9-13, cited as W. Howe, Narrative).

215. There is a blank in the MS. General Howe withdrew from New Jersey at the end of June, and he embarked 15,000 men on the fleet, which Hamond said amounted to 250 sail. The fleet did not get away from Sandy Hook until July 23, arriving off the mouth of the Delaware on the 30th. (Hamond, Account).

216. Hamond is in error here over Washington's strength and position; his understanding of the details leading up to the battle of Brandywine has evidently been dulled by time. Washington, after Howe's departure from New Jersey, moved his troops to Morristown, New Jersey, where he could cover either the Hudson or Philadelphia. When informed that the British fleet had left Sandy Hook, he sent two divisions to the Delaware on the 24th, and he soon followed with the bulk of his army. On the 31st, when he received news that the Howes were at the mouth of the Delaware, he was able to put his leading division into Philadelphia on August 1. After the British slipped below the horizon again, the mystified Washington, still fearing that the Howes would go north, took up a position twenty miles north of Philadelphia, with about 11,000 effectives. (Freeman, op. cit., IV, 436-470).

217. Although the Americans utilized the British Philadelphia defenses started before the war, they were far from complete, as Hamond points out. In addition, Washington observed on August 10, that the works at Fort Island did not coordinate with the chevaux-de-frise.

217. (Continued) On August 23 he urged that the work on the defenses should be pushed, but on September 13, after the Brandywine defeat, he declined to weaken his army by detaching troops to complete the works. The Pennsylvania navy in early 1777 consisted of thirty vessels, including fourteen "gondolas" or armed galleys and two floating batteries, and the Continental fleet consisted of about six sloops, schooners and xebeques. For a detailed description of the American fortifications, see note 234. (J. C. FitzPatrick, ed.; The Writings of George Washington, 1933, IX, 51-53, 110, 215, cited as G. W.; J. W. Wallace, Colonel William Bradford, Philadelphia, 1884, pp. 132, 203-205).

218. A fleche is the simplest form of field work with two faces meeting in a salient angle with no ditch. (Smyth, op. cit., 304).

219. The Howes' action in putting into Delaware Bay and then moving around to land in the Chesapeake Bay has caused much dispute. Hamond reveals some very significant details in his contemporary Account of the American War, that for the first time gives a disinterested eye-witness account of this conference:

> As I was present at this conference I could not help expressing my surprise at the bare mention of Chesapeak Bay, upon which (my Lord Howe in confidence) told me 'that the General's wishes and intention were first to destroy the magazines at York & Carlisle before he attacked the Rebel Army or looked towards Philadelphia'; and therefore it was of course a great object to get to the westward of the Enemy.
>
> As I had for some time past reason to expect the armament was intended against Philadelphia, and had of course made some preparations for the guidance of the Fleet up the River, I could not help contending for the propriety of pushing up as far as they might go with perfect safety from anything that was to be apprehended from the Enemy. I confessed that carrying all the Fleet as high as Newcastle would subject

219. (Continued)

> them to insult & danger from the Enemy's Row Galleys & Fire Vessels, but that by advancing the Men of War only to Newcastle, the Transports would be perfectly secure at Reedy Island. The Admiral I think seemed to incline to the Delaware but the General saying 'he was from the beginning for making the landing in Chesapeak Bay', and the wind at that time being quite favorable for going to the Southward, the Resolution was accordingly taken ....

General Howe expressed his original preference for the Chesapeake in his letter to Germain of July 16, 1777, since he was aware, through Hotham's and Hamond's reports to Lord Howe, that the American defenses of the Delaware could cause considerable trouble. When the fleet put into the Delaware and Hamond reported that Washington was preparing to defend Philadelphia, the General's reasons for at all preferring the Delaware were instantly voided. Washington, as feared, was not going north to attack Burgoyne, and since it was now no longer possible to land the army quickly enough to thrust it between Washington and the Susquehanna Riber, Howe returned to his original choice of going to the Chesapeake. (Germain Papers, II, 73; W. Howe, Narrative, pp. 23-25; Anderson, op. cit., 280-281).

220. Hamond informed the Earl of Carlisle, see note 260, in 1778 of the conversation he had had with the Howes at the entrance of Delaware Bay in 1777. Hammond

> urged to them that it would be better to land below the impediments, as they would by that means save the sea voyage, [to the Chesapeake] and be almost as hear Philadelphia. To this was answered that the taking of the city was not the principal object; ... that all the magazines were then at York or Carlisle, and the taking of them would effectually crush General Washington, &c, therefore they pursued their intention of going up the Chesapeak, as the destruction of the magazines was to be more easily effected by so doing.

220. (Continued) However, there is no indication in the Germain Papers presently published that confirms General Howe's intention to take this step. (Historical Manuscripts Commission, The Manuscripts of the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle, London, 1897, 15th Report, Appendix Part VI, p. 354; cited as Carlisle Papers).

221. Ambrose Serle, Lord Howe's secretary, recorded on July 29th, that Hamond

> waited upon the Admiral ... and at length it was determined by the General not to land here.--The Hearts of all men were struck with this Business, every one apprehending the worst.

(E. H. Tatum, Jr., ed., The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Los Angeles, California, 1940, p. 241).

222. If the general had originally planned to land in the Delaware, but was dissuaded at the last moment by naval advice, as certain writers have asserted, then Hamond's suggestions would not have caused him to change his mind and go to the Chesapeake. (Cf. Fortescue, op. cit., III, 214, James, op. cit., p. 64; and Christopher Ward, The War of the Revolution, New York, 1952, I, 332, who blames Hamond for the move to the Chesapeake and its unfortunate consequences.) Hamond, as Commander of the Delaware squadron, was the only naval officer, apart from the Admiral present at this conference. His evidence, both in his Autobiography and Account, thus shows that General Howe in deciding to go down to Chesapeake Bay was not motivated by any naval advice. This confusion over the general's action has in part resulted because in the Parliamentary inquiry of 1779 into the Howes' conduct of the war, Hamond defended, probably upon personal and professional motives, the move to the Chesapeake. For Hamond's evidence at the inquiry, see notes 319 and 329.

223. The fleet stood into Chesapeake Bay on August 15, and anchored off New Point Comfort on the 16th. (Hamond, Account).

224. Howe's dispatch is most complimentary to Hamond. Howe wrote, in part, that Hamond,

224. (Continued)

> who had acquired a very correct knowledge of navigation, ... was charged with the care of stationing proper pilot vessels to mark out the channel up the Chesapeake Bay.

The Roebuck was the largest vessel to cover the debarkation of the troops. (Howe to Admiralty, August 28, 1777, in Remembrancer, V, 388-389).

225. The fleet passed Annapolis on August 21, and the troops debarked on the 25th at the Head of Elk. Colonel Montressor, Chief Engineer of the British Army, took part in the sounding operations, which took place on the 23rd; however, he makes no mention of Hamond. For Montresor himself, see note 230. (G. D. Scull, ed., Montresor Journals, New York, 1881, p. 437-442).

226. Hamond is hazy here. Washington, being informed on August 22 that the British fleet was in Chesapeake Bay, passed his troops through Philadelphia on the 24th, and took up a position on Red Clay Creek with his left on Christiana Creek. Fearing, however, that General Howe would bypass him on his right, he moved his army, on September 9, in front of the British at Chad's Ford on the Brandywine. (Justin Winsor, History of America, New York, 1887, VI, 380).

227. The delay between the landing of the troops on the 25th and the battle of Brandywine on September 11 has generally hitherto been accounted for by the confusion of the landing, and the need to round up horses to replace those lost on the long voyage. (Montresor Journals, p. 444).

228. Hamond here and immediately below clearly means September. He was indeed fortunate to make the trip back to the Delaware by September 10 for the Roebuck ran aground off Pool's Island in the Chesapeake on September 2. However, Hamond had with him the sloop Senegal, Captain Molloy, whom he ordered to take the victuallers down to the Capes of Virginia, and to deliver them to the senior captain there for movement

228. (Continued) to the Delaware, but Hamond was soon able to refloat the Roebuck. (Hamond to Molloy, 2 September 1777).

229. The battle took place on September 11, but the retreat of the American army, although greatly confused, did not turn into a rout. Had General Howe had another hour of daylight the American army would, according to his dispatch of October 18, have been totally overthrown. American losses were 450 casualties, and 400 prisoners. (Montresor Journals, p. 451).

230. John Montresor, 1736-1788, obtained a commission in the 48th foot in 1755, and served in it on Braddock's expedition, of which his father was chief engineer. He was present at the siege of Quebec in 1759 as sub-engineer. In 1771 he planned and laid out the British fortifications at Fort Island in the Delaware River. Appointed chief engineer in America in 1775, he had to reduce his own works. He also helped organize the farewell entertainment for General Howe, described below. (Montresor Journals, pp. 4-7; D.N.B. by R. H. Vetch).

231. Sir William Medows, 1738-1813, entered the army as an ensign in 1756, and rose to lieutenant-colonel in 1764. In 1775 he came to America and served with great distinction. At Brandywine, he had his right arm broken by a ball which knocked him off his horse, and the fall broke his left collar bone. In 1788 he was Commander-in-Chief and Governor at Bombay, and served for a time under Cornwallis, whom he succeeded as Commander-in-Chief in Ireland in 1801. Medows became a general in 1798. (W. H. Wilkin, Some British Soldiers in America, London, 1914, p. 194; D.N.B. by G. P. Moriarty).

232. George, Lord Harris, 1746-1829, came to America in 1774, and the next year took part in the march on Concord, when half his company in the 5th foot were casualties. He was wounded at Bunker Hill where his life was saved by his lieutenant, Lord Rawdon. He took part in the 1776 New York campaign under the immediate command of Medows. Harris was wounded in the leg on September 3, 1777, in a skirmish at Iron Hill. Major-general in 1794, he was Governor of Madras in 1798, and commanding the British army he defeated Tipu at Seringapatam. General in 1812, he was created a Baron in 1815. (Wilkin, op. cit., 172ff.)

233. The Congress left Philadelphia on September 19, and General Howe encamped at Germantown on the 25th, while Cornwallis marched into the city on the morning of the 26th. (Winsor, op. cit., 384).

234. There were three major American fortifications on the river. Fort Mifflin on Fort Island (not Mud Island), was begun by the British. By 1777 the main defenses of the fort were directed toward the main channel of the river, the rear being provided with only a stockade, ditch and two small blockhouses. Fort Island was separated from Province and Carpenter's Islands by a shallow channel about five hundred yards wide, which being undefended was the weak link that Lord Howe was to exploit. Across the river 1900 yards away on the Jersey shore at Red Bank stood Fort Mercer, which had a strong inner work and a weaker outer work, both situated so that any attacking force could be enfiladed by American ships on the river. Five miles downstream was the fort at Billingsport, which though begun quite early and on a large scale, was still incomplete in September, 1777. Two rows of chevaux-de-frise were sunk at Billingsfort, and four more rows were moored between Fort Mifflin and Fort Mercer, but these did not cover the channel between Province Island and the rear of Fort Mifflin, as the Americans believed that no British ship could possibly move in that shallow water. (Wallace, op. cit., 161-163).

235. This is in part a new viewpoint. On the morning of September 27, the American frigate Delaware, not the Virginia as Hamond states, and several galleys moved up to Philadelphia to bombard the newly erected British batteries defending the city. The Delaware grounded on the ebb tide, and under a hot British fire struck, while the galleys returned to Fort Mifflin. The fifty sailors sent by Hamond to man the Delaware were commanded by Lieutenant Watt, note 202 and they arrived in Philadelphia on the 29th. (Lord Howe's dispatch of October 25, 1777 in H. B. Dawson, Battles of the United States, New York, 1858, I, 357-358; Journal of the proceedings of the Army under the Command of Sir William Howe in the Year 1777, being the diary of an officer apparently attached to the British General Staff, Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April 1930, pp. 84-85, cited as Anon. Journal ... Howe).

236. Admiral Howe stayed in the Chesapeake until September 14, but on account of heavy weather he did not arrive off Chester in the Delaware until October 6. (J. K. Laughton, ed., Journals of Henry Duncan, Navy Records Society, London, 1902, p. 151, cited as Duncan, Journals).

237. On September 29, General Washington had "advised" the American detachment to withdraw from Billingsport and to remove all stores to Fort Mifflin. On October 2, the British army took the fort at Billingsport with little opposition, but they did not take advantage of this by moving up the shore to Fort Mercer on Red Bank, which at this time was weakly defended by the Americans. This and other British detachments induced Washington to strike General Howe's lessened force at Germantown on October 4. The chevaux-de-frise at Billingsport caused Hamond great difficulty and although he started work to clear a passage on October 6, he was unable to get through the double row until the 15th, and only then by great difficulty being constantly plagued by American fire rafts. Howe gives Hamond full credit for this accomplishment. (Annual Register, 1777, XX, 134-135; G. W., IX, 283, 284, 321, 331; Howe to Admiralty, October 25, 1777, loc. cit.)

238. Francis Reynolds Moreton, Lord Ducie, 1739-1808, was a midshipman on the Magnanime under Howe. A captain of 1762, he was appointed to the Augusta in 1777, and arrived at New York in May, sailing from thence with the Pennsylvania expedition. For his later career, see note 405. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 474).

239. On October 10, the British engineers started constructing batteries on Province Island to reduce Fort Mifflin, and on the 15th they opened fire from four batteries; at this time the Roebuck was anchored off Little Tinicum Island. The second line of chevaux-de-frise was breached on the 15th, the channel through it was buoyed on the 19th, and the first general assault was made against Fort Mifflin late on the 22nd. The Hessians under Colonel Donop made an attack at the same time on Fort Mercer on Red Bank, but were heavily repulsed. The British naval force, consisting of the Augusta, 64, the Roebuck, two frigates and a sloop, was eventually forced to retreat downstream in the face of heavy American fire but the Augusta grounded just below the upper chevaux-de-frise, as did the sloop Merlin, 18. The Americans discovered

239. (Continued) the grounded ships early on the 23rd, and Commodore Hazelwood, the American naval commander, ordered a general engagement with his galleys. The Augusta took fire and blew up around noon. Montresor reports that sixty of the crew were lost. (Howe to Admiralty, October 25, 1777, loc. cit.; Montresor Journals, pp. 464-470; Anon. Journal ... Howe, pp. 86-90; G. W., IX, 428-430).

240. This was low-lying Province Island on the Pennsylvania shore, which the Americans attempted to inundate from the Delaware river. Heavy rains and the rise of the river, however, delayed the construction of further British batteries during the last week of October and early November. By November 1 the British in Philadelphia were faced with serious shortages of almost all provisions, and as Montresor says:

> somewhat dejected by Burgoyne's capitulation, and not elated with our late manoeuvres as Dunop's repulse and the Augustas and Merlins being burnt and to compleat all, Blockaded.

(Montresor Journals, pp. 471-472; Wallace, op. cit., 194, and passim).

241. For a description of these chevaux-de-frise and Franklin, see notes 169, 170.

242. George Oury served in the East Indies during the Seven Years War being promoted to captain in November, 1762. In 1775 in the Somerset, 74, he assisted in the blockade of Boston. He returned to England, and then in June, 1776, he convoyed a fleet of transports to New York. He then came under Howe's command, but the Somerset was lost off Cape Cod in October, 1778. Oury was captured and not exchanged until 1780. He retired from the service in 1793, a superannuated rear-admiral. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 516-518).

243. William Cornwallis, 1744-1819, younger brother of General Marquis Charles Cornwallis, entered the navy in 1755, and saw much service in the Seven Years War. A commander in 1764, post-captain in 1765, he commanded the Pallas, 32, from 1774 to 1776 on the African coast arresting American ships trading in powder. Early in 1777 he was appointed to the Isis, 50, but he returned

243. (Continued) to England early in 1778. He was in the West Indies in 1779 and 1780, forming a close friendship with Nelson. He became admiral in 1799, and commanded the channel fleet from 1803 to 1806. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

244. John Henry, 1731-1815, was first posted to the Vigilant. Later, in May, 1778, still commanding it, he led a small expedition up the Delaware above Philadelphia, burning many American vessels. He assisted in the defense of Savannah in 1779 against d'Estaing, and he commanded a 50-gun ship under Admiral Kempenfelt in 1781. He was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1794, and Admiral of the Red in 1812. (Clowes, op. cit., IV, passim.)

245. Artillery preparations for this second assault, scheduled for November 15, were started on November 10. The British land batteries concentrated on Fort Mifflin whose batteries were all silenced by the night of the 10th, although they were repaired during the night. The British batteries continued to play on the fort for the next four days, and also during the nights to interrupt the repair work. A big breach was made in the masonry on the 11th; many palisades were levelled and the blockhouses were almost ruined. The Vigilant, which was intended to have taken part in the first assault, grounded on the 12th, and the wind would not allow her to get into position until the 15th. The channel, to which Hamond refers, was on the west side of Hog Island. (Howe to Admiralty, November 23, 1777, in Dawson, op. cit., I, 364-366; Montresor Journals, pp. 474-476; W. G. Simms, ed., The Army Correspondence of Colonel John Laurens, New York, 1867, pp. 75-78).

246. The Somerset and the Isis went up the eastern channel to attack the fort from the front while the Roebuck and two smaller ships attacked an American battery below Fort Mercer, which had been erected to rake ships anchored in front of the fort. Howe wrote that the Isis and Roebuck were struck many times and both conducted themselves well. The garrison of about three hundred fatigued men were overwhelmed by the fire, especially of the Vigilant which came to within a hundred yards of the fort, and they withdrew, evacuating the ruined fort in the night of November 15. (Howe to Admiralty, November 23, 1777, loc. cit.; Wallace, op. cit., 201-212).

247. Captain Duncan, Montresor and others accompanied Osborn, cited below, taking possession of the fort on the morning of the 16th, with eight flatboats of grenadiers and engineers. The fort was an absolute wreck, with signs of much bloodshed. Work was immediately started on a battery to cover the removal of the chevaux-de-frise. (Montresor Journals, p. 477; Duncan, Journals, p. 155).

248. Sir George Osborne, 1742-1818, 4th Bart., was the son of Sir D. Osborne, governor of New York, 1753. Osborne was a Member of Parliament from 1768 to 1784. He returned to England at the end of 1777 and was promoted. He finally became a general, and was a groom of the bedchamber to George III. (J. B. Burke, Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire. London, 1859, p. 769; cited as Burke, Peerage).

249. Presumably this is Francis William Drake, 1724-1789, direct descendant of the Elizabethan seadog Sir Francis Drake, and brother of Admiral Sir Samuel Drake, with whom he is often confused. See note 345. Drake was posted in 1748, commanded a ship of the line under Boscawen in the Mediterranean in 1759, and took part in the reduction of Havana in 1762. He was not promoted Rear-Admiral until January, 1778. (Clowes, op. cit., III, passim.).

250. The final assault on Fort Mercer was planned for November 22. General Cornwallis landed at Billingsport on the 19th preparatory to storming the fort, but the Americans blew up the work and withdrew on the night of the 20th-21st. Lieutenant Watt, whom Hamond sent to command the Delaware frigate, destroyed many of the Continental vessels that tried to run up past Philadelphia during the same night. (General Howe's dispatch of November 28, 1777, in Dawson, op. cit., I, 366-367).

251. Ice made both Philadelphia and New York unsafe as winter anchorages for the main British fleet. The admiral left Philadelphia on December 23, arriving in Rhode Island on January 2, 1778. (Duncan, Journal, p. 157).

252. General Howe was made a knight of the Bath on October 13, 1776. The Court, alarmed by rumors of a British defeat in America, was highly relieved when Howe's dispatch claimed a great victory on Long Island. (Sandwich Papers, I, passim.).

253. During the attacks on the Delaware River forts in late November, the main American army was located at White Marsh, twelve miles northwest of Philadelphia. Washington's general winter plan was to remain on the defensive while his better equipped troops would conduct those operations best suited to keep Howe from taking action, and to stop supplies from entering Philadelphia. Washington decided on a location less liable to be surprised by the British, and the army moved to Valley Forge, eighteen miles northwest of Philadelphia, in the second week of December, but the dearth of even the basic necessities precluded any action. (Freeman, op. cit., IV, 563-564).

254. General Howe has been much criticised for not taking any military action against Washington at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-1778, and for his life of ease in Philadelphia. In mid-April 1778, he wrote to Germain that the American army

> has been diminished during the course of the winter by desertion ... but the want of green forage does not yet permit me to take the field, and their situation is too strong to hazard an attack with a prospect of success ... whereas a check at this period would probably counteract his Majesty's intentions of preparing the way for the return of peace by the Bills proposed.

Howe later stated that he did not want to do anything that would reduce the army that he would hand over to his successor. (Germain Papers, II, 107; W. Howe, Narrative, pp. 30-31).

255. Howe remained at Rhode Island until March 23, 1778, when he sailed for New York. Stormy weather prevented his arrival in the Delaware until April 16, 1778, and he did not get up to Philadelphia until April 23. While in Rhode Island, the ministry informed him for the first time that France might soon enter the war, whereupon he proposed some defensive measures, and requested a reinforcement of ten sail of the line. (Duncan, Journals, p. 157; James, op. cit., 95).

256. The Andromeda arrived in late April, and left Philadelphia on May 26 with the general on board. He had written to Germain on October 22, 1777, before Burgoyne's surrender was known, requesting permission to resign. This had resulted in part from Germain's letters to the general,

> which were so cold and dry in respect to his successes in Pennsylvania ... that left him in doubt as to his continuance in the command.

The Cabinet discussed Howe's letter on January 10, 1778. North pointed out the difficulty of replacing Howe, while Germain wished to comply with the general's request to come home. The King felt that

> those two are so ill together that the good of the service requires that either the Secretary or the General should retire.

Germain wrote to Howe on February 4, 1778, that the King, now being fully informed of the closing of the campaign, that is Burgoyne's surrender,

> was therefore graciously pleased to order me to signify to you his royal acquiescence in your request of leave to resign your command.

(J. W. Fortescue, The Correspondence of King George the Third, London, 1928, IV, 8-10, 12, 33, cited as Fortescue, Correspondence; Germain Papers, II, 80, 92; Duncan, Journals, p. 158).

257. Sir Henry Clinton the elder, 1738-1795, was born in America and entered the New York militia. In 1760 he was a lieutenant-colonel in the First, now Grenadier Guards, and distinguishing himself in Germany, he was appointed aide to the Prince of Brunswick. A major-general in 1772, he was shortly thereafter elected to the House of Commons through the influence of his cousin, the second Duke of Newcastle, see note 396. After Bunker Hill he became second in command to General Howe, and in the late summer of 1777 he made a diversion up the Hudson in favor of Burgoyne, without however altering the decision of Saratoga. Characteristically he was unhappy under Howe, who, he thought, did not show him the consideration he thought his due. (D.N.B. by H. M. Stephens).

258. There are many accounts of this affair, and the Howes' enemies represented it as an indication of their laxity. Montresor, who was one of the managers, wrote of it as

> a Regatta, Fete Champetre, Tilts and Tournaments, Carosal, Procession through Triumphal Arches, Dancing, Exhibition of Fire Works, Musick and Feast. (Journals, p. 492).

According to a panegyric account in the Gentleman's Magazine, written by John Andre, the fete started in the early afternoon of May 18, with a river parade, and the Roebuck, flying Admiral Howe's flag, fired a seventeen-gun salute. The twenty-two field officers, who underwrote the project, spared no expense for it was described as "exceeding anything ever seen in America, and rivalling the exhibitions of Louis XIV". (Barrow, op. cit., 114). The Earl of Carlisle, see below, who arrived in Philadelphia shortly afterwards, formed a different opinion. To Lady Carlisle, he wrote:

> I only know there were triumphal arches, and that General Washington was within twenty-four miles of them, and that Lord Howe saluted Sir W. Howe, and Sir W. Howe saluted Lord Howe, and that it cost above four thousand pounds, and everybody paid whether they could afford it or not.

(Carlisle Papers, p. 346; Gentleman's Magazine, 1778, XLVIII, 353-357).

259. Burgoyne's surrender, and the activities of the Parliamentary opposition in using the defeat for their own ends, forced the cabinet to reappraise British policy since it was now evident that the colonies could not be militarily subdued unless the army were greatly enlarged. This was impossible in view of the French threat which had been realized for some time. The new British plan, incorporated in orders to Clinton of March 8, while reinforcing the flanks, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Florida, was weak in the center: either Washington would have to be defeated in a decisive engagement or the idea of offensive action must be relinquished. Since the French

259. (Continued) fleet was not to be blockaded in its harbors, as in the previous war, the King wanted to withdraw the troops from America and use them against the French West Indies, but such a withdrawal would not be effective unless peace was assured. By 1778, with the British occupying only Philadelphia, New York and Rhode Island, this could only be achieved by conceding American independence, but the country, let alone the King, would not stand for it, although there is some indication that North realized its necessity. North introduced his conciliatory bills into the House of Commons on February 17, 1778, leading to the creation of this Commission, which received its instructions on April 12. The Commissioners arrived in Philadelphia on June 6. Clinton and Lord Howe were also named, but the latter refused to serve. (Fortescue, Correspondence, IV, 13-15, 36; Sandwich Papers, I, 333-334; Germain Papers, II, 94-97; W. B. Wilcox, "British Strategy in America, 1778", Journal of Modern History, 1947, XIX, 98-102).

260. Frederick Howard, 1748-1825, fifth Earl of Carlisle, the first cousin and later ward of the poet Byron, was educated at Eton, where he was a close friend of Charles James Fox, and at Cambridge, but he did not take a degree. He took his seat in the House of Lords in 1770 after going on the usual continental tour. After a close association with Fox, he turned seriously to politics, and in 1777 he was appointed treasurer of the household. He was appointed chief of the commission on February 22, 1778, a selection enhanced by the prestige of his high rank and great wealth, and by his friendship for Fox, which it was thought would please the Americans. Later he was Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1780-1782. (D.N.B. by G. F. Russell-Barker).

261. William Eden, 1744-1814, first Lord Auckland, was a close friend of Carlisle from their Eton days. He took his B.A. at Oxford in 1765, and after reading law was called to the bar of the Middle Temple in 1769. He gave up his promising legal career in 1774 to enter the House of Commons, where he became an acknowledged authority on legal and economic questions. In 1777 he became an undersecretary of state managing the British continental secret service, and he assisted in drawing up North's conciliatory proposals and the plan for the peace commission. Later he

261. (Continued) was chief secretary to Carlisle in Ireland where he established the National Bank. Diplomatically he was noted for the negotiations leading up to the signing of the French commercial treaty of 1786. (D.N.B. by H. M. Stephens; C. Van Doren, Secret History of the American Revolution, New York, 1951, pp. 59, 65-66).

262. George Johnstone, 1730-1787, commanded a sloop in the Seven Years War, being promoted post-captain in 1762. In November 1763, he was appointed Governor of West Florida. He returned to England in 1767, and the next year he was elected to the House of Commons, where his "shameless and scurrilous utterances" made him useful to the Tories. He was appointed to the peace commission at the last moment, but he was of more hindrance than help. While in America he attempted to bribe some members of Congress, and this so completely discredited him that he resigned from the commission in August. Later, in Parliament, he supported the government's naval and American policies, and attacked Admiral Howe. Shortly thereafter Sandwich appointed him commodore of a small squadron, despite his never having commanded a post ship. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

263. Lord North's first conciliatory bill was concerned with Parliament's right to tax America, and in turning the clock back to 1763, it conceded almost all of the points for which the patriots had been striving. The second bill was to appoint the commissioners to treat with the colonies. The commissioners were given very broad powers: they could treat either with Congress, as if it were a legal body, or with individuals. The colonies were to be granted everything except technical independence, and if these measures failed, then the commissioners were instructed to deal with the individual states leading to a possible division of America. Horace Walpole wrote a frank opinion of North's peace commission to Horace Mann on February 18. Wrote Walpole:

> It solicits peace with the States of America: it haggles on no terms; it acknowledges the Congress, or anybody that pleases to treat; it confesses errors, misinformation, ill-success, and impossibility of conquest; it disclaims taxation, desires commerce, hopes

263. (Continued)

> for assistance, allows the independence of America, not verbally yet virtually, and suspends hostilities .... Nothing but the dread of a French war ... could have reconciled the court to such vast concessions.

(Mrs. Paget Toynbee, ed., The Letters of Horace Walpole, Oxford, 1904, X, 193-194, 197; Annual Register, 1778, XXI, 131-133; Carlisle Papers, pp. 322 ff.)

264. On April 22, the Continental Congress, which had been sent drafts of the conciliatory bills, adopted a report that:

> These United States cannot, with propriety, hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states.

The British commissioners had no power to grant either condition, and their mission was thus doomed to failure even before they arrived, provided Congress stood firm. The conciliatory bills, as finally passed by Parliament, were sent to Henry Laurens, President of the Congress, on May 27, but he replied that the Congress had already indicated its position. (Carlisle Papers, p. 336; W. C. Ford, ed., Journals of the Continental Congress, X, 374, XI, 575, cited as J. C. C.)

265. Two Franco-American treaties were signed at Versailles on February 6, 1778. The first was a treaty of amity and commerce by which France recognized American independence. The second was an alliance between the two countries, providing that in case of war between France and England both signatories should fight until American independence was "formally or tacitly assured". The French frigate, carrying Simeon Deane, the bearer of the treaties, arrived in Casco Bay, Maine, on April 13, and Deane hurried down to York, Pennsylvania, where Congress ratified the treaties on May 4. The British frigate carrying the drafts of North's conciliary bills left England on

265. (Continued) February 20, and arrived in New York on April 14, when they were immediately published. These bills, therefore, were not able, as their author had hoped, to affect American public opinion before the news came from France. (Van Doren, Secret History of the American Revolution, pp. 87-89).

266. Charles Hector, Comte d'Estaing, 1729-1794, entered the army as a colonel, and in 1757, as brigadier-general, he went to India, and while there he commanded some naval vessels. In 1777 he became vice-admiral, and he left Toulon on April 13, 1778, with comparatively free orders. He was to assist the United States, but if a superior British fleet arrived in the theatre, he was, after resupplying at Boston, to move down to the West Indies and operate against British possessions there. (Nouvelle Biographie Generale, XVI, 455-457).

267. The French, almost immediately after the Treaty of Paris, 1763, began preparing for the time when England might be humbled, and she was continually on the alert for suitable opportunities to do this, see note 145. The French Navy, under Sartine, was completely refurbished in all respects; indeed by 1780 France had just about achieved equality with Britain in ships of the line. Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga "determined the moment of French intervention". France, however, had no desire to see the new republic move away from French influence. (G. S. Graham, Empire of the North Atlantic, Toronto, 1950, pp. 200-201, 209, 211).

268. On March 13, 1778, the French ambassador in London informed the British government of their treaty of friendship with the United States. Britain recalled her ambassador from Paris, but no declaration took place until the summer. Despite Sandwich's pleas within the Cabinet, the navy was not put on a war basis until this rupture. (Sandwich Papers, II, 4; Clowes, op. cit., III, 394).

269. Byron, see notes 86, 128, the Earl of Carlisle's uncle, was made Rear-Admiral of the Red in early 1775. In September of that year he declined the appointment of second in command on the American station on account of ill health. In early 1778, Howe asked Sandwich to send him at least two more flag officers, and Byron,

269. (Continued) promoted Vice-Admiral of the Blue in January, and Gambier, see note 301, were selected. Byron with thirteen ships of the line did not get away from England until June 9, because the cabinet decided not to send him to America unless it was certain that d'Estaing had left European waters. This delay was almost fatal. (Sandwich Papers, I, passim., II, 7, 288).

270. D'Estaing's threat to Philadelphia did not figure in the order to evacuate the city, for the cabinet thought, in February, 1778, that his Toulon squadron was destined to join the Brest squadron. The Ministry's original orders for the 1778 campaign, dated March 8, instructed Clinton, if he could not bring Washington to a decisive action, to make predatory raids on the coast from New York to Nova Scotia. If, after making the detachments, see note 259, there were insufficient troops to make these raids, he was to evacuate Philadelphia. (Sandwich Papers, I, 343-344; Germain Papers, II, 95-97; Willcox, loc. cit., 106).

271. Definite French entry into the war caused the ministry to change their plans because the West Indies and the West Indian trade were regarded as more important than America, and new orders were issued on March 21. The French island of St. Lucia was to be the primary target as it was the best base from which to watch Martinque and stiffle French trade. The detachment of troops to do this, and those ordered to Florida made the evacuation of Philadelphia absolutely necessary, and Clinton was ordered to New York, pending the outcome of the peace commission. (Sandwich Papers, I, 325-326, 366-367; B. F. Stephens, Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783, London, 1890, p. 1069).

272. Clinton arrived in Philadelphia on May 8, and the instructions of March 8 and 21 reached him the next day. Although Lord Howe had been informed in January of possible French intervention, definite information giving details of d'Estaing's departure and strength did not reach America until June 29, after the evacuation of Philadelphia. Information was also given that Byron's squadron was leaving shortly, in early May, but the indecision of the cabinet and the inefficiency in the admiralty, falsely raised the hopes of the British commanders in America. (Willcox, loc. cit., 108-109).

273. Byron's absence and news of d'Estaing's arrival created a crisis in British circles in New York in July, 1778. If the Florida and St. Lucia detachments were dispatched they might be captured, and in addition the New York defenses would be seriously weakened by such a depletion. Hotham, therefore, did not leave New York until November 4 with the St. Lucia troops, and the island was taken on December 13, just before d'Estaing arrived to reinforce it. (Carlisle Papers, p. 347; Willcox, loc. cit., 113).

274. There were insufficient transports for total evacuation by sea, and so General Clinton left Philadelphia on June 18, with 15,000 men and a twelve mile baggage train. Washington's van under General Lee attacked Clinton's rear near Monmouth Court House on June 28. Lee retreated and Clinton engaged Washington's main body hurriedly brought into position, but although the British attacked fiercely they continued their march to the sea. American casualties were about two hundred and fifty, while more than two hundred British were buried on the battle field. (Freeman, op. cit., V, ch. 3).

275. Admiral Howe cleared Delaware Bay on June 28, after a tedious ten day trip down the river; this was only a week before d'Estaing arrived there. The Earl of Carlisle on June 23 wrote that:

> We are invited out to dine on board the Roebuck, Capt. Hamond, who is a very gentlemanlike man, has his ship in prodigious order, and will give us a much better dinner than we should have at home.

Howe arrived at Sandy Hook on June 30, and the Roebuck arrived in New York on July 7, with the information that d'Estaing was in the Delaware on the 5th. (Carlisle Papers, p. 346; Beatson, op. cit., IV, 331-332).

276. Sir John Knight, 1748-1831, entered the navy in 1758 on board his father's frigate. Promoted lieutenant in 1770, he went to the North American station in 1775, as second lieutenant on a sloop. He was taken prisoner but exchanged in late 1776, when Howe gave him a small cruiser command. Posted in 1781, and promoted to rear-admiral in 1801, he rose to admiral in 1813. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

277. This work by Howe's cruiser captains has been much praised:

> Despite the poor state of the fleet as a whole, Howe had some really good men as cruiser captains, who knew exactly what was required of them.

Howe's defensive arrangements of his little fleet, which consisted of only six 64-gun ships, three 50-gun ships and six frigates, were expertly calculated to rake the French ships if they should venture over Sandy Hook bar. (James, op. cit., 98-100).

278. D'Estaing arrived off Sandy Hook on July 11 with eight ships of 74 guns or over, three 64-gun ships and several smaller--about double Howe's strength. (James, op. cit., 101).

279. On July 22 a high northeast wind and a spring tide put thirty feet of water on the bar, and d'Estaing prepared to cross but at the last moment, following his pilot's advice, gave up. This was fortunate for the British, as New York was the hub of their power. According to Mahan, however, a British defeat might have led to peace between Britain and America, and that would not be in the French interest. The move to Rhode Island, to attack the British there, was concerted between Washington and d'Estaing when the latter's pilots were unable to find a deep channel over the Sandy Hook bar. The French arrived off Rhode Island on July 29. (Mahan, op. cit., 360-361; Freeman, op. cit., V, 47-50; James, op. cit., 101).

280. The Cornwall arrived on July 30, but adverse weather prevented Howe from getting to sea until August 6. The Raisonable, 64, coming from Halifax, arrived just after the Cornwall, and informed Howe that the French were bound for Rhode Island. The Renown, 50, also arrived before Howe left. (Howe's dispatches quoted in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1778, III, 390, 436). These reinforcements so raised the spirit of Howe's squadron that Hamond wrote to Carlisle saying that all they wanted was to get into action with d'Estaing and that Rhode Island was as good a ground as any. (Carlisle Papers, p. 358).

281. Howe arrived off Rhode Island on August 9, and his most timely arrival was upsetting to d'Estaing who, with the American army under General Sullivan, was assaulting the British position at Newport. The wind changed to the north during the night enabling the French to come out on the 10th. Howe, still not over two-thirds d'Estaing's strength, could only engage on his own terms, and he therefore needed the weather gage, the "offensive position of that day", which was such that would give him the advantage of the wind at his back. It was a rather unusual step for Howe to move into a frigate, which he did on the afternoon of the 11th, but it gave him better control of his fleet. Captain Duncan, Howe's "Adjutant-General" on the Eagle, records these maneuvers in almost similar terms as Hamond, noting that the British fleet executed the movements in line ahead, and as the French sailed for the British rear, Howe was thus able to get the weather gage. (Duncan, Journals, pp. 161-162; Beatson, op. cit., IV, 345-347).

282. John Elliot, d. 1808, was posted in 1757, and in 1760, commanding three frigates, he had the distinction of successfully engaging Thurot's squadron in the Irish Sea, note 92. In 1777 Elliot, as commodore, was appointed to the Trident, 64, to convey the Carlisle commission to Philadelphia; he was an uncle to Mrs. Eden, who accompanied her husband, see below. He then became Howe's second in command. Later he was Commander-in-Chief at Gibralter after its relief in 1780. He rose to be Admiral of the Blue in 1795. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 224-228).

283. Sir Hyde Parker, 1739-1807, a captain of 1763, was appointed to the Phoenix in 1775 on the North American station. His services up the Hudson in 1776, see notes 200, 201, won him Howe's praise and he was knighted for this. In 1779 he conveyed the troops to Savannah and cooperated with them on that expedition, after which he returned to England. Vice-admiral in 1794, he was appointed commander of the Baltic squadron in 1801, with Nelson as his second in command. It was on this voyage that Nelson secured his brilliant success at Copenhagen. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

284. Philemon Pownall, d. 1780, commanded a sloop in the Seven Years War, and in 1761 he had a hand in the richest capture of the war when, commanding one of Sir Piercy Brett's cruisers, he, in company with a frigate, took the Spanish treasure ship Hermiona. Later, still in the Apollo, he captured a French frigate in 1779, but he was killed the next year in an indecisive action with a French privateer in the English Channel. (Clowes, op. cit., IV, passim.)

285. Nisbet Balfour, 1743-1823, entered the army in 1761 as an ensign in the 4th regiment rising to captain in 1770. He then distinguished himself at Bunker Hill and Long Island, after which he was sent to England with dispatches, being promoted brevet major. He returned to America becoming a close friend of Lord Cornwallis. Present at Brandywine and Germantown, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 23rd regiment in 1778, which came on board Howe's fleet as volunteers on August 1. Later he accompanied Cornwallis to Charleston and became commandant there. After the war he became an aide-de-camp to the King, and rose to general in 1803. (Duncan, Journals, p. 161; D.N.B. by H. M. Stephens).

286. Howe arrived off Sandy Hook on August 17. Although Hamond makes no mention of it, the Roebuck lost her mizen topmast in the gale. (Howe to Admiralty, August 17, 1778, in Remembrancer, VII, 39).

287. D'Estaing's ship was the Languedoc, 90, but she was saved by the arrival of six French of the line which came up at the sound of the Renown's salvos. Her captain, Dawson, was able to pour in three broadsides before he was forced to flee. (Beatson, op. cit., IV, 349).

288. D'Estaing, after temporary repairs, returned to Rhode Island on August 20, to the distress of the British garrison there. However, he was there only a short time to American disgust, and he went to Boston, where he arrived on the 28th, on the plea that the state of his squadron necessitated a refit. Howe, by prodigious work, repaired his ships, and reinforced by the Monmouth of Byron's squadron, cleared New York on the 25th, having heard on the 23rd that the French had returned to Rhode Island. (Beatson, op. cit., IV, 353-355; Clowes, op. cit., III, 409-410).

289. Sir James Wallace, 1731-1803, entered the navy as a scholar in the Royal Academy at Portsmouth in 1746. A lieutenant in 1755, he was promoted to captain in 1771, when he was appointed to the Rose, 20, which he took to North America in 1774. In July, 1776, in company with Hyde Parker, he went up the Hudson River. He shortly assumed the command of a 50-gun ship, and stayed on the North American station until 1779. He rose to be admiral in 1801. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

290. Howe arrived off Boston on August 31, but the French had not been idle for the previous three days. On September 4, Howe stopped at Rhode Island and learnt that General Sullivan and the American army had given up the siege on August 29. He reached New York on September 11. (Howe to Admiralty, September 12, 1778, in Remembrancer, VII, 48).

291. Six more of Byron's squadron had arrived in New York on August 29, but Byron himself, sighting d'Estaing's fleet on August 18, when the latter was returning to Rhode Island, made for Halifax. Howe turned over the command to Rear-Admiral Gambier, see below, on September 11, and left Sandy Hook on the 24th. Byron, on account of foul weather, naturally, could not reach New York until October 1, when he assumed the command. He had, however, met Howe enroute at Rhode Island on the 25th. This shift in command caused considerable confusion as Gambier was Howe's second in command on the station. (Sandwich Papers, II, 289-290; Carlisle Papers, p. 368; Duncan, Journals, p. 164).

292. Lord Howe had expressed his desire to return to England in November, 1777, but he remained when he heard of the coming of the French. To Sandwich he wrote on April 23, 1778, that:

> my impaired state of health obliges me to hope for the earliest concurrence in my request to be relieved in this command.

His difficulties in commanding the station were great, and shortly after he arrived in England, he stated that he declined to serve further under the present ministers. Germain "was an old enemy, and Lord Sandwich was a political opponent whom he often distrusted". (Sandwich Papers, II, 287-289).

293. Howe's successor was technically Gambier, but he never really exercised the chief command as Howe continually interfered until he left New York. Hamond probably means Byron, with whom he was on close terms. (Carlisle Papers, p. 389).

294. See note 264. After the evacuation of Philadelphia, relations between the commissioners and Congress, seriously jeopardized by Johnstone's activities, further deteriorated. On August 11, Congress resolved not to negotiate "in any degree ... with the present British commissioners in America for restoring peace". Johnstone singled out by name in the August resolutions of Congress, left New York on September 23. By June, 1778, Carlisle had realized that the ministry had, at the very moment of giving the commission its instructions, undermined its position, vis à vis the Americans, by secretly turning to defensive military operations, for from the beginning he had looked upon the offensive operations of the army as "the great instrument which was to secure us success". On October 3, the commission appealed to the individual states and to the people, but to no avail as Congress intervened. (J.C.C., XI, 770-774, XII, 1013, 1015-1016; Carlisle Papers, pp. 367, 378-381).

295. Anthony Storer, 1746-1799, collector and man of fashion, was a close friend of Carlisle's at Cambridge. He was a Member of Parliament from 1774 to 1784. He passed much time with Lord North, and in 1782, he acted as the intermediary between him and Fox prior to that coalition. Eden wrote in 1779 that Storer went with the commission "as an idle man pour s'amuser"; the secretary of the commission was Adam Ferguson. (Stevens, Facsimiles, p. 446; D.N.B. by W. P. Courtney).

296. Charles Cornwallis, note 204, was largely responsible for the Brandywine success, after which he returned to England. Promoted lieutenant-general, he was appointed second in command to Clinton, whom he joined at Philadelphia in June, 1778. He attempted to resign when he saw that operations under Clinton would not be on a suitably large scale, and after covering the retreat from Philadelphia to New York, he returned to England with Hamond, upon hearing of his wife's dangerous illness. (D.N.B. by H. M. Stephens).

297. Alexander Ross, 1742-1827, was gazetted a lieutenant in 1765. He served in Germany and became a captain in May, 1775, and then served throughout the American war until Cornwallis sent him home with dispatches after the battle of Camden, 1780. Later he served in India with Cornwallis; they were "the most intimate friends ...." (D.N.B. by B. H. Soulsby).

298. This was Henry Broderick, who at this time was a captain of the 55th regiment of foot. He served in this capacity during early 1780, and returned to England after the fall of Charleston. (Lieutenant-General A. Robertson, Diaries and Sketches in America, edited by H. M. Lydenberg, New York, 1930, p. 229).

299. The Hon. C. Phipps, 1744-1792, a grandson of John, Lord Hervey, entered the navy in 1760 under his uncle Augustus John Hervey, note 69. He was a lieutenant in 1762, and took part in the reduction of Havana. Posted in 1765, he succeeded his father as second Baron Mulgrave in 1775. He was a Member of Parliament from 1768, belonging to the "King's Friends". Later he was a lord of the admiralty. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

300. William Peere Williams, 1742-1832, first went to sea in the Magnanima under Howe in 1759. He served as a lieutenant on the North American station from 1764 to 1766, and was posted in 1771, serving under Howe in 1778. He saw no service after 1782, but he was promoted rear-admiral in 1794. He became admiral in 1801, and Admiral of the Fleet in 1830. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

301. James Gambier, 1724-1789, served as a captain under Hawke at Quiberon Bay, and later in that war he was commodore on the North American station. He was Commissioner of the Navy at Portsmouth from 1773 to 1778, when he was promoted rear-admiral, and in consequence of the domestic political situation and of Howe's plea for senior officers, he left England on March 16, 1778, for America to act as Howe's second in command. Howe, however, left him to act as Port Admiral at New York, much to Gambier's disgust. Although he was a brother-in-law of Comptroller Charles Middleton, both Howe and Sandwich held a low opinion of his competence, but as long as he refitted ships in New York, "he could do no positive harm". (Sandwich Papers, II, 289 and passim).

302. Byron left Rhode Island on December 14, 1778, and his arrival at St. Lucia on January 6, 1779, now made the British squadron stronger than the French, and d'Estaing left St. Lucia to its fate when he heard that Byron was coming. (Sandwich Papers, II, 288, 336).

303. Francis Thomas Drake, d. 1781, was shortly hereafter promoted to commander in charge of the Delight, 16, but this vessel foundered enroute to North America in September, 1781. (Clowes, op. cit., IV, 111).

304. At this time the Opposition was in full cry for scapegoats for the Burgoyne surrender and the Keppel-Palliser affair, see note 326. The ministry, however, was thinking how Admiral Howe might be rewarded. The King wrote to North on December 12, 1778, during the Keppel court-martial, that it would be best for the service if Lord Howe were made First Lord of the Admiralty. North replied on December 31, not without reservation, but that

> probably all enquiry will be dropt, and a Ministry strengthen'd by new accessions may be expected to be more able than the present to withstand the storm which is ready to burst upon our heads.

Howe, however, set unallowable conditions, and by March, 1779, was numbered among the Opposition. (Fortescue, Correspondence, IV, 231, 239-241, 269, 302).

305. It had for some time been the custom for the King to grant

> the honour of knighthood ... (to show) his approbation to sea officers on particular occasions.

(Sandwich Papers, I, 165).

306. Charles Tyler, 1760-1835, was carried for a few months in 1771 on the books of the Barfleur as Hamond's "servant"; he was also with him on the cruise of the Arethusa. In 1774, he served on Admiral Graves' flagship, but being injured in 1777 he was invalided for some time. Posted in 1790, he served under Hood in the Mediterranean. Later he took part in the battle of Trafalgar commanding an 80-gun

306. (Continued) ship, when he was severely wounded. Promoted vice-admiral in 1813, he was made a K. C. B. on January 2, 1815. This last date indicates the earliest time that Hamond could have written this Autobiography. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

307. Douglas was at this time the third lieutenant of the Roebuck. He was the third from August, 1778 to May 12, 1779; the second from then until December 11, 1779; and the first lieutenant from then until February 16, 1780. (Hamond to Navy Board, 16 February, 1780).

308. From this and other statements Hamond certainly appears as one of the captains of the new, humane, progressive school unlike the tyrants whose often unwarranted cruelties drove men to desertion or mutiny, and created a general fear of serving in the Royal Navy. A captain transferring from one ship to another was allowed to take with him from his old ship his servants, his boat crew, his coxswain, clerk, purser, some of his warrant officers, and a number of able seaman. From a fifth rate ship, see note 386, as the Roebuck, Hamond could take only twenty men. (Masefield, op. cit., 57).

309. Charles Middleton, 1726-1813, Lord Barham, commanded the Jupiter from April to August, 1778, when he was appointed Comptroller of the Navy, which post he held until 1790. His energetic activities in that office were greatly responsible for overcoming British naval deficiency in previous years, and for preparing the navy to meet the challenge from revolutionary France. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

310. Coppering was originally one of Anson's innovations, and it aimed to preserve ships's bottoms from worms. The result was a speedier and sturdier ship, which placed such coppered ships in great demand by sea captains. This practice did not become universal until after 1784, on account of the galvanic action between the copper and the iron bolts in the hull. The Alarm was coppered in 1761, but several of the frigates sent out to Howe in 1776 were so treated. (Sandwich Papers, I, 47; James, op. cit., 8).

311. Henry Graeme, d. 1786, was a major in the army. He was severely wounded at Minden, 1759, when he was a captain in the 37th regiment. Later he was Lieutenant-Governor of St. Helena, where he died. (Burke, Peerage, p. 480).

312. Graham Eden Hamond, 1779-1862, second Baronet, entered the navy as servant to his father on board the Irresistible in 1785. As a midshipman he served under Captain Andrew Snape Douglas in 1793 on the Phaeton, and on the Queen Charlotte, Howe's flagship in the 1794 victory. Lieutenant in 1796, he was made a post-captain in 1798. Present at the battle of Copenhagen, he held the prayerbook which Nelson used to read thanks to God. He saw considerable action in that war, and took several Spanish treasure ships. Rear-admiral in 1825, K. C. B. in 1831, he commanded the South American station from 1834-1838, and was Admiral of the Fleet in 1852. (D.N.B. by G. C. Boase).

313. Mrs. Carolina Hood, d. 1858, married in October, 1804, the Honorable Francis-Wheler Hood, eldest son of Henry, second Viscount Hood, and grandson of Admiral Samuel Hood. Hood was lieutenant-colonel of the third regiment of guards, and he was killed in action in southern France in 1814. (Burke, Peerage, p. 480, 529).

314. When England realized the magnitude of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, the question of General Howe's military ability as commander was questioned, especially with reference to his southward move in 1777. Fox, leading the Opposition in criticising the ministry, moved in January, 1778, for Howe's and Burgoyne's instructions. North, faced with some sort of an inquiry as Burgoyne's evidence was only half the story, brought in his conciliatory bills, which had the effect of stealing the Whigs' thunder, but they "pleased nobody in England". Burgoyne arrived in London in May, 1778, but the King would not receive him; he soon seconded a Parliamentary motion to inquire into Saratoga. The ministry ignored this and Parliament was prorogued. General Howe arrived in July, and was received at Court. In the meantime Germain, smarting under Opposition criticism, became more hostile to the general, and apparently instigated the pamphlet war against him. Admiral Howe and Governor Johnstone returned in October, 1778, with the latter violently attacking the admiral, and giving additional material to Mauduit, the chief pamphleteer. These public denunciations caused the general to act, and he moved in the Commons that the correspondence between Germain and himself be laid before the House; this was adopted in February, 1779. Lord North was opposed to the inquiry, even after the preliminaries had been taken, because he knew that the Whigs would use it as a means to attack the ministry, and

314. (Continued) because he was unable to remove either Germain or Sandwich, whom the Whigs were bitterly assailing. North desired to divert the attack, and loosely praised the Howes, yet the pamphlet war continued. The last motion for examining witnesses on Howe's military conduct was defeated on April 29, 1779. (W. C. Ford, "Parliament and the Howes", Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1910, XLIV, 120-137).

315. George Sackville Germain, 1716-1785, a lieutenant-general in 1757, commanded the British troops in the Allied army under the Prince of Brunswick in 1759. His actions at the battle of Minden led to his dismissal from the service, and the court-martial in 1760, declared that he was "unfit to serve His Majesty in any military capacity whatever". In 1770 he became known as Lord Germain, and some reaction set in against the court-martial's decision. A follower of North, he was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, which he held from 1775 to 1782. In 1778, the King, however, declared that:

> He has not been of use in his department, and nothing but the most meritous services could have wiped off his former misfortunes.

(Fortescue, Correspondence, IV, 356; D.N.B. by H. M. Chichester).

316. After the motion was defeated on April 29, North informed the King "that the business will not be further agitated", which was surprising to the King who thought that Germain would want a full investigation to clear his reputation. Germain, silent in the debate on the 29th, resurrected the whole issue on May 3 when, in answering an attack by Burgoyne, he assailed Howe on matters not explained in the letters that were then before the House. North, under pressure from his own side, then approved the inquiry; the motion was accordingly passed, and the committee of the whole House started the examination on May 6. (Annual Register, 1779, XXII, 142-144; Fortescue, Correspondence, IV, 330-333; Ford, "Parliament and the Howes", loc. cit., 135).

317. On May 3, Germain specifically attacked Howe on several points: for not pushing after the Americans after the battle of White Plains, for not crossing the Delaware at the end of the 1776 campaign, and for not going up the Delaware in 1777. He had drawn up a memorandum entitled "Hints for the management of an intended enquiry". This document is dated in the Germain Papers "1777 or 1778", and it included fourteen questions on Howe's conduct of the American war, and the points above are included in these questions. (Parliamentary Register, 1779, XIII, 391-394; Germain Papers, II, 89-90).

318. The ministry was in a very difficult position vis à vis General Howe, for although he was their appointee to carry out the "sword and olive-branch Policy", yet if they attacked him for "waving the olive-branch to excess", they would be admitting their own mistake. This had led to the pamphlet war, coupled with the refusal of an inquiry. The Whigs, who had more to gain from the inquiry than the Howes, held the view that the American war was impracticable, and they further opposed the ministry on the constitutional question of the establishment of the King's system of government by influence. They hoped that the loss of the "King's War" in America would so expose the corrupt practises of the government that in the "dregs of national humiliation" the King would have to turn to them. (S. G. Fisher, The Struggle for American Independance, Philadelphia, 1908, II, 150-151; Hunt, op. cit., 191).

319. Hamond was examined on May 11, and when interrogated by the Howes, he stressed the difficulties of the navigation of the Delaware, and detailed the American naval force on the river. When examined by other members of the committee, he first sidestepped the question of whether the army could land at or near Newcastle or Reedy Island, but later said that:

> he never pretended to deny the practicability of landing an army in the Delaware. I have only spoke to the expediency of it.

When asked why he believed General Howe went to the Chesapeake, he replied that:

> no public reasons were given me and I hope the House will not think me wanting in respect to them, if I decline saying what the substance of the private communication was.

319. (Continued) He emphasized the difficulty he had with the American galleys in the engagement with them in May, 1776, "I had before found the gallies very troublesome, and very little in my power to annoy them". When asked at the end of the examination whether, if he had been commanding the fleet, he would have prefered going up the Chesapeake or Delaware, he answered, "the going up Chesapeak Bay was a very wise and proper measure". (Parliamentary Register, 1779, XIV, 33-51).

320. Frederick Montagu, 1733-1800, a cousin of the second Earl of Halifax, was educated at Eton and Cambridge, after which he was admitted a barrister of Lincoln's Inn in 1757. He held a seat in the House of Commons from 1759 to 1790. In 1780 he was generally expected to become the next speaker of the House, but failing in this, he became a lord of the treasury under Rockingham. (D.N.B. by S. Lee).

321. The Howes called four witnesses: Cornwallis, first, then Hamond, Grey and Montresor, who collectively well defended the Howes, and showed the impracticability of the American war--to the Whigs' joy. The Howes' case ended on May 18. The ministry called General Robertson, one of Howe's subordinates, and Joseph Galloway. Both severely condemned the general and his conduct of the war, At this time the Spanish ambassador gave notice that he had been recalled, but by this time the inquiry was more of a fight between Germain and General Howe. On June 15, the Whigs were unable to carry their motion to address His Majesty to suspend the prorogation of Parliament until the end of the American inquiry, and so the affair was closed without any direct result. The pamphlet war, however, continued intermittently for several years. (Ford, "Parliament and the Howes", loc. cit., 137-140; Fisher, op. cit., 151-153).

322. Presumably Hamond means Spanish entry into the war. The King's Speech in November, 1778, intimated that the Bourbon alliance might be renewed, as it was when Spain made an alliance with France against England on April 12, 1779; this did not include the Americans, however. (Hunt, op. cit., 196).

323. Keppel, notes 26, 104, was well down the list of vice-admirals but the King, in November, 1776, selected him to command the Channel fleet in case of war with France. The

323. (Continued) choice was generally very popular. Keppel had refused to serve against the Americans for he was a most active Whig, and belonged to the most uncompromising group of the Opposition. He sailed with the Channel fleet on July 9, 1778. (Sandwich Papers, II, 3, 10).

324. Sir Hugh Palliser, 1723-1796, a captain of 1746, was appointed Comptroller of the Navy in 1770 after much active service. In 1775 he was appointed to the admiralty board, and was made Lieutenant-General of Marines in succession to Saunders, but this last appointment aroused Keppel's jealousy. Palliser was raised to Vice-Admiral of the Blue in January, 1778, and was appointed third in command under Keppel, still however, retaining his admiralty seat. He was thus a political opponent, and unlike Keppel, he was a self-made man, having to fight his way up rank by rank. Three years older than Keppel, he was not an admiral until thirteen years later. (Sandwich Papers, II, 191).

325. This was the Ushant action. The French fleet of 32 sail of the line, under Comte d'Orvilliers, was sighted on July 23, 1778, and after four days of manœuvering an inconclusive action was fought. Keppel had thirty ships of the line, but he was heavier gunned than the French. After the first brush, Palliser, whose rear division had suffered more casualties than the other two divisions combined, dropped astern, and for a number of reasons did not join Keppel, despite all signals, until it was too late to renew the action. (James, op. cit., 129-134).

326. The dispute was started in October, 1778, when the fleet was at sea, by an Opposition newspaper, which claimed that Palliser was responsible for the failure to win a victory. When the fleet returned the "over-sensitive Palliser reacted violently", asking Keppel to sign a denial. This being refused, he demanded, on December 9, a court-martial on Keppel, which coming from him as a lord of the admiralty gave tremendous political emphasis to the dispute. The court-martial, which adjourned on February 11, 1779, acquitted Keppel, and the mob promptly looted Palliser's house and burnt him in effigy. Palliser resigned his offices, and asked for a court-martial on himself, but there were no fixed charges, and Keppel "refused to act as prosecutor". On May 5, this court acquitted Palliser but it could not "help thinking it was incumbent on him" to have informed

326. (Continued) Keppel of the disabled state of his ship. (Sandwich Papers, II, 192-197, 222).

327. Hamond, in expressing Tory sentiment here, apparently did not believe in Jervis' theory, postulated at this time,

> that equal fleets cannot produce decisive actions unless they are both determined to fight it and, or one of the commanders misconducts his line.

The French commander, unlike Keppel, did not wish for decisive combat. (Sandwich Papers, II, 11-12).

328. Hotham, note 209, took part in the Rhode Island action, and almost succeeded in taking a disabled French 80-gun ship after the gale on August 11, 1778. He then convoyed the troops to St. Lucia, and then, late in the summer of 1779, he was stationed at Barbados. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

329. The significance of this act of obliteration is seen in relation to Hamond's personal feelings over the change of destination of the British fleet in the summer of 1777 from the Delaware to the Chesapeake, as expressed in his writings in notes 219 and 220, which of course are quite contrary to his testimony at the Parliamentary inquiry. Hotham's relation to Howe is clearly revealed in Rodney's letter of May 31, 1780, to Sandwich, in which that Tory admiral criticised Hotham's action at the Battle of the Saints. Rodney wrote that:

> It was in my power to take Mr. Hotham's head for his conduct; and I would do it, if I thought his conduct proceeded from anything but mistake. I hope there was no design, but it had the strongest appearance of it, and to show the world that none but his particular friends, Lord Howe and Mr. Keppel, were fit to command the fleet.

(Sandwich Papers, III, 218).

The most obvious conclusion regarding the lines obliterated is that Hotham came from Howe bringing the Admiral's gratitude to Hamond for defending him at the inquiry. It must be remembered, however, that Hamond gave his testimony two years after proposing his plan for an immediate landing up the Delaware. Apparently the junior service had overruled him, and after participating in the "serious business" of reducing the American fortifications, Hamond probably had quite honorable motives in defending the admiral, and the move to the Chesapeake.

330. The Roebuck had sailed to Long Beach on May 1, and left the Downs on the 20th, after Hamond had given his testimony at the inquiry. She went down the Channel in the grand fleet in consequence of the Brest fleet having put to sea, and she arrived in Cork, after being delayed at St. Helen's, on June 20. (Hamond, A Journal of the Roebuck's Second Voyage to North America, unpublished Ms., McGregor Library, University of Virginia, cited as Hamond, Journal).

331. The Spanish had delayed their entry into the war, after the alliance with France had been signed, in order to allow their fleets to prepare for joint action. The French fleet came out of Brest on June 4, and unable to make contact with Arbuthnot and the armament bound for New York, turned to the south and joined the Spanish fleet near Cape Villano on July 23, when the combined fleet totalled sixty-six ships of the line. (James, op. cit., 171 ff.)

332. Hamond did not get away from Cork until July 20 as the victuallers were not ready before then. According to his Journal, there were only 110 sail; the West Indian convoy separated from him on August 3.

333. Hamond arrived in New York on September 20. This snow, the La Jeune Francois, taken near the Newfoundland Banks, was bound to "Bourdeaux from Guadalupe". From her captain, Hamond learnt that he had narrowly missed two American 32-gun frigates, the Boston and the Dean, which had been cruising off the Banks in the hopes of falling in with this convoy. (Hamond, Journal).

334. Marriot Arbuthnot, 1711-1794, a captain of 1747, took part in the battle of Quiberon Bay. In July, 1775, he was appointed Commissioner of the Navy at Halifax where he stayed until January, 1778, when he returned to England upon being promoted rear-admiral. In 1777 he acted as Governor of Nova Scotia in Governor Legge's absence, see below. After sitting as a member of Keppel's court-martial in 1779, he was appointed to command the North American station. He left England on May 1, but did not arrive in New York until August 25, when he relieved Commodore Collier, see below. (Sandwich Papers, I, 113, 247; D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

335. Sir George Collier, 1738-1795, posted in 1762, was knighted for his services in America in 1775. From 1776 to 1779 he was stationed at Halifax, and in 1777 he captured the Hancock, American frigate. When Gambier was recalled to England in February, 1779, Collier as commodore moved to New York, and took over the command of the station, during which time he conducted a number of successful raids along the coasts. In August he went to the rescue of Penobscot, which the Americans had attacked on July 25. On August 14, just as they were about to launch the final assault, Collier arrived, and captured and burnt many American ships. When he returned to New York, he gave up the command to Arbuthnot. He advanced to vice-admiral in 1794. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

336. Arbuthnot dispatched the Roebuck and the Romulus, 44, as soon as he heard rumors that the Americans were preparing four frigates to attack the post. The two ships left New York on October 8, and arrived at Pentobscot on the 14th. Hamond returned to New York in late October, taking en route a schooner bound for Cadiz, and the Revenge, 12, a new London privateer that had been causing much trouble. (Stevens, Facsimiles, p. 1012; Hamond, Journal).

337. Hamond in his Journal deprecated the economic value of the settlement, and also the difficulty that sailing vessels encountered in reaching it. In the Parliamentary debate on the American peace treaty in 1783, the opposition claimed that the loss of the area would result in the loss of valuable naval supplies, but:

> in opposition to this assertion, it was proved by the certificate of Captain Twiss, one of the ablest surveyors in the service, that there was not a tree there capable of being made a mast.

(Annual Register, 1783, XXVI, 155).

338. Germain gave Clinton orders in late 1778 to establish a province between the Penobscot and St. Croix Rivers. Clinton, in February, 1779, directed General McLean to prepare a fort there, and an expedition of six-hundred men arrived at Penobscot in June, 1779. The Americans were

338. (Continued) prompt in moving against this fort, which was within striking range of Boston. The northern border of the United States, as set forth in the preliminary peace treaty of November, 1782, was set at the St. Croix River, and Penobscot became a part of Massachusetts. (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institute, London, 1904, I, 284, 381, 458-459).

339. Hamond returned to New York on October 31. In the meantime Clinton and Arbuthnot were in the process of formulating their plans for the coming campaign. On October 24, Arbuthnot wrote to Clinton asking for details of the southern expedition. At this time he offered to appoint Hamond commander of a squadron that would escort the general "wherever he might be pleased to go". (Stevens, Facsimiles, p. 1025).

340. Clinton was the commander after General Howe, but Cornwallis, his second in command, held a dormant commission to succeed him. Clinton's orders for 1779 called, not for a regular military offensive, but for the sending out of raiding expeditions, of which the most successful was in May, 1779, to Chesapeake Bay. (D.N.B. by H. M. Stephens).

341. Germain's orders to Clinton of March 8, 1778, giving the strategy to be followed, specified that after the raiding operations had been concluded, see note 270, a move should be made to conquer South Carolina and Georgia. Germain anticipated at the latest that this move could be made by October, 1779. He wrote again in May, 1779, that the conquest of Carolina would bring such immediate effects as withering American trade with France and the West Indies, and seriously shaking American credit in France. The way was left clear for this expedition after d'Estaing withdrew from Savannah in late October, 1779. Clinton kept pushing the project, originally planned to leave New York on September 22, but it was delayed, first by the rumor that the French were attacking Jamaica, and then that Halifax was threatened. Clinton wrote to Arbuthnot on October 22 that Georgia and Pensacola

> chiefly claim our attention as requiring Succour--Charleston and New Orleans as points where by well timed Exertions we may possibly reap some brilliant advantage.

341. (Continued) (Germain Papers, II, 97; Stevens, Facsimiles, pp. 1013, 1023; Fortescue, op. cit., III, 311).

342. Sir Peter Parker, note 147, went out to North America in October, 1775, as commodore, in the Bristol, 50. After the Charleston attack, he went to New York, and he commanded the squadron that took Rhode Island in late 1776. Promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1777, he shortly quit the North American station. In 1787 he was promoted admiral, and in 1799 to Admiral of the Fleet. "He is now best remembered as the early patron of Nelson". (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

343. This attack on Charleston took place in June, 1776, Instructions for it were given out in November, 1775, the object being to support the loyalists in the south, and to make a diversion from the American army in the north. The attack went badly from the start; the only fighting was the duel between Parker's squadron and the American defenses on Sullivan's Island. Parker's effective force consisted of only two 50-gun ships and four frigates. His flagship, the Bristol, had forty killed, and over seventy wounded, including himself. (Sandwich Papers, I, 43-44; James, op. cit., 430).

344. The Charleston expedition was delayed by lack of news about d'Estaing's whereabouts. However, the withdrawal of the French in late October, 1779, after failing to take Savannah, left the coast clear for Clinton and Arbuthnot to proceed. Clinton's army only numbered approximately 7,600, including six battalions of Germans. (Fortescue, op. cit., III, 311, 313).

345. This is Sir Francis Samuel Drake, d. 1789, the last baronet in direct succession to Sir Francis Drake. He was posted in 1756, and in 1778 he was appointed to the Russell, 74, one of Byron's squadron bound for America, but he did not arrive in New York until 1779. He commanded the Russell in the Charleston expedition until March, 1780, see note 364, but he did not win his flag until September, 1780. Later he was third in command under Arbuthnot in the Chesapeake action, 1781, member of Parliament for Plymouth in 1789, and one of the lords of the admiralty. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 162 ff).

346. In addition to General Cornwallis, General James Patterson, formerly General Howe's Adjutant-General, came on board the Roebuck in New York on December 26, and the Roebuck, then sailed. (Log of George Palmer, Second Lieutenant of the Roebuck, later admiral, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England, microfilm copy in the Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia.)

347. The Roebuck was at anchor off Tybee from February 4 to 10. (Palmer's Log).

348. The British captured Savannah in late 1778, and overran much of Georgia. Rutledge, South Carolina's revolutionary governor, wrote to d'Estaing in June, 1779, when the latter was at St. Domingo, asking him to come north in the hurricane season to cooperate with General Lincoln in recovering Georgia. D'Estaing's fleet, now twenty-two sail of the line and eleven frigates, arrived off Savannah in early September to the great surprise of the British. (Fortescue, op. cit., III, 276 ff.)

349. James Moncrieff, 1744-1793, took part in the reduction of the Delaware River forts in 1777 and went to South Carolina in 1779. At Savannah he landed and mounted almost a hundred cannon, and in addition to the earthworks, which the French declared "sprang up like mushrooms in a night", he sank vessels in the channel of the river. For these services he was promoted brevet-major. He was next the chief engineer for the siege of Charleston, and Clinton credited him with the success of that operation. In 1792 he served on the Duke of Richmond's committee investigating English coastal defenses, see note 447. (D.N.B. by R. H. Vetch).

350. D'Estaing, without waiting for General Lincoln to come up, on September 15, summoned Savannah to surrender, but General Prevost, although greatly outnumbered, refused. D'Estaing broke ground for siege operations and by the 23rd his sap was within three hundred yards of the British entrenchments. An assault was made by the French and Americans on October 9 which was almost successful. D'Estaing, who had urged General Lincoln to eschew slow siege operations in favor of the assault, now became anxious for his fleet, which was in no condition to fight if a British squadron appeared. He reembarked his troops and left Savannah on October 26. (Fortescue, op. cit., III, 284-285; James, op. cit., 162).

351. The Roebuck anchored off Edisto on February 17, staying in that vicinity until the 24th. (Palmer's Log).

352. The delay caused by the storm gave General Lincoln, commanding the American forces, time to improve his defenses, and to receive some reinforcements. Clinton landed on John's Island on February 11, but he advanced cautiously, carefully guarding his communications with the sea, being determined not to repeat the military blunders of the 1776 campaign. He did not cross the Ashley River until March 29. (W. G. Perrin, ed., The Keith Papers, Naval Records Society, London, 1927, I, 135-136).

353. Lincoln had approximately 2,650 Continentals and 2,500 militia with which to hold about three miles of fortified lines. (Ward, op. cit., II, 698).

354. Arbuthnot, on October 30, 1779, had written to Sandwich intimating that if he were not included in the new commission that Clinton was given to "settle the terms of accommodation with the King's rebellious subjects", then he would request permission to resign. On November 10, he wrote again definitely asking permission to resign since, as he stated before, his omission from the commission was "so public a mark of contempt". For the West Indian reinforcement, see note 356. (Sandwich Papers, III, 138-139).

355. For Clinton's hopes on this matter, and the origin of the Charleston expedition, see note 341. Clinton, did not resign his command until May, 1781. He had, however, written to Germain in August, 1779, asking permission to resign but this had been rejected. (G. W. Kyte, "British Invasion of South Carolina, 1780", The Historian, 1952, XIV, 151).

356. George, Lord Rodney, 1719-1792, a baronet at this time, had been promoted Admiral of the White in 1778. In December, 1779, he was given the command of the Leeward Islands station, and on his way there, he relieved Gibralter in January, 1780. Rodney did not reach St. Lucia until March 22, 1780. Arbuthnot was ordered in September, 1779, to send three ships of the line to the West Indies as it was expected that the French and Spanish would send re-

356. (Continued) inforcements to their West Indian squadrons to replace those that d'Estaing took back to France with him. However, Arbuthnot later countermanded this; at this time he had only five of the line with him: two seventy-fours and three sixty-fours. It is quite possible that Hamond has erred in chronology, for on September 14, 1780, the Cabinet ordered Arbuthnot to send a detachment to Rodney as soon as the winter season set in and the big ships could no longer be advantageously operated on the American coast. (Germain Papers, II, 144-145; Sandwich Papers, III, 122, 251; Beatson, op. cit., VI, 204).

357. Clinton wrote to Germain on January 30, 1780, in a most pessimistic vein, in which he described the fleet as "most distressed and shattered". He felt that a sudden attack on Charleston was necessary or else operations should await a favorable opportunity, for the delay "has offered Carolina leisure ... to adopt itself to the degree and nature of the danger with which it was threatened". Clinton, after detailing the reinforcements the Americans were receiving, informed Germain that General Lincoln

> has been industrious and successful in putting Charleston in the best posture of defense: a very respectable line of abbatis is nearly completed. The advanced ditch is enfiladed on the right and left by 24 pounders ... The profiles of the batteries are of the first rate, and the whole formidable by its artillery.

(Remembrancer, X, 36-41; B. F. Hough, ed., The Siege of Charleston, 1780, Albany, 1867, pp. 50-60).

358. The naval historian, J. K. Laughton, writes that:

> Admiral Arbuthnot was ignorant of the discipline of his profession ... he was destitute of even a rudimentary knowledge of naval tactics ... and he appears in contemporary stories as a coarse, blustering, foul-mouthed bully, and in history as a sample of the extremity to which the maladministration of Lord Sandwich had reduced the navy. (D.N.B.)

358. (Continued)
The military historian, the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, writes that Clinton "was made the scapegoat for every misfortune that occurred during his period of command ...." for with fewer troops he was expected to do as much as General Howe. His views of the conduct of the war were sound, and he recognized the greater importance of naval over military operations, but Germain's interference, coupled with inefficient admirals, was too much for him. For Clinton's own expression over this, see note 359. (History of the British Army, III, 403).

359. In August, 1780, Clinton wrote to William Eden enclosing his correspondence with Arbuthnot:

> Is your Lord Sandwich, who, to my knowledge has long since considered the American War as Secondary, for ever to send out Gambiers and Arbuthnots? If so, I intreat that I may return. ... from this old gentleman [Arbuthnot] nothing can be expected: he forgets from hour to hour, he thinks aloud--he will not answer any of my letters, holds conversations with my Aides de Camp and afterwards denies it, as indeed he has done once or twice with myself ... recollect what trouble I had to draw him to the southward ... Send out another admiral, or let me go home.

(Stevens, Facsimiles, p. 1043).

360. There is a memorandum in the Hamond papers at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, apparently in the handwriting of Graham Eden Hamond, which states that although the admiral agreed to take Clinton and his army to Charleston, yet when they arrived off the bar and

> when it was proposed to the Admiral to lighten the ships and go in--He said no; and swore by God he would do no such thing--The General he said had been told by him that he would bring him off the port but nothing further was to be done by the Shipping--Upon this Sir Andrew Hamond reasoned with him and at last ...

360. (Continued)
succeeded in getting him to permit the Men of War to be lightened for the purpose of going over the Bar ... and without the counsel and strenuous exertions of Sir Andrew, Charleston would never have fallen.

361. After landing on John's Island, about thirty miles below Charleston, Clinton on February 24 pushed on to James Island, which controlled the southern approach to the city, taking Fort Johnson on March 6. Arbuthnot in the meantime had established a blockade of the city. On March 7, Clinton had advanced completely across James Island, and was only separated from the city by the Ashley River, which was crossed on the 29th. By April 9, the British army, having extended to Coopers River, invested the city, and on the next day Clinton summoned the city to surrender. (E. McCrady, South Carolina in the Revolution, New York, 1901, pp. 445-462; Fortescue, op. cit., III, 314-315).

362. George Elphinstone, Viscount Keith, 1746-1823, a lieutenant of 1770, was posted in 1775 and, in 1776, he was appointed to the Perseus, 32, which he commanded until the summer of 1780. During this siege he chiefly served ashore, commanding the flotilla of flat boats used to take the army across the numerous creeks and rivers. Later he saw much action in the Napoleanic war, commanding the Mediterranean fleet after St. Vincent in 1799. He was promoted Admiral of the Blue in 1801. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

363. Arbuthnot first ordered Elphinstone on February 4 to superintend the debarkation of the troops at Edisto, and, on March 24, he placed him in command of the naval forces that cooperated with the army. Elphinstone had under his command twenty-two boats, ten lieutenants, twenty-two midshipmen, and eventually several hundred seamen. (Keith Papers, I, 145 ff.)

364. Arbuthnot shifted his flag from the Europa to the Roebuck when the fleet left Tybee, on February 11, for North Edisto. On March 8, he ordered the remaining ships of the line to New York under the command of Commodore Francis Samuel Drake. (Isaac Schomberg, Naval Chronology, London, 1802, II, 16).

365. Arbuthnot's dispatch of May 14, named the Roebuck, Richmond, Romulus, Blonde, Virginia, Raleigh, Sandwich, armed ship, and the Renown as crossing the bar in that order. The Renown was a fifty-gun ship; the Romulus and Roebuck were forty-four-gun ships; and the remainder, excepting the armed ship, were thirty-two-gun frigates. When the admiral shifted his flag to the Roebuck, he increased her armament to fifty guns by the addition of six twelve-pounders. (Keith Papers, I, 140, 162).

366. On March 9, the fleet stood off the Charleston bar, and the guns were transferred to transports. The actual crossing of the bar did not take place until March 20, and it was unopposed by the American ships of war. Arbuthnot claimed there was nineteen feet of water over the bar during the spring tides. (Palmer's Log; Keith Papers, I, 140).

367. Maximilian Jacobs, a captain of 1758, had served on the North American station from 1768 to 1772. He commanded a 32-gun frigate in Howe's fleet in 1777, and was appointed to the Defiance in 1779 coming from England with Arbuthnot. He held no commands after this episode, and became a superannuated captain. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 318).

368. This occurred on February 18, but Beatson says at the North Edisto inlet, where Jacobs attempted the passage against his pilot's advice. (Beatson, op. cit., V, 13).

369. The actual whereabouts of the Admiral during the passage of the fort has, in the past, been in some doubt. The pertinent part of Arbuthnot's dispatch of May 14, which is completely quoted in the Keith Papers, I, 139-142, does not answer this question. General von Huyn, who commanded a brigade in the British army, states in his diary that the admiral was on board the Roebuck, while Captain Hinrichs of the Jager Corps writes that the "Admiral went ahead in a jolly boat and piloted each ship". It would appear that neither of these accounts is correct. (B. A. Uhlendorf, ed., The Siege of Charleston, Ann Arbor, 1938, pp. 241, 383).

370. The little fleet passed Fort Moultrie in the early afternoon of April 9, in a driving rain, the same day that Clinton opened fire with his batteries from the first parallel on the landside of the town. Arbuthnot wrote that the total passage took two hours with the fleet suffering casualties of only twenty-seven killed and wounded. (Keith Papers, I, 140-141).

371. Peter Timothy, who watched the British passage of the fort from St. Michael's Church steeple in Charleston, wrote that:

> They really made a most noble appearance, and I could not help admiring the regularity and intrepidity with which they approached, engaged and past Fort Moultrie. It will reflect great honor upon the admiral and all his captains; but 'tis a pity they are not friends.

(Diary of Peter Timothy, quoted in McCrady, op. cit., 460).

372. The Americans opened fire with their heaviest guns, and the Roebuck was hit a half dozen times, but Hamond ordered that no notice be taken, and the Americans, believing their cannonade to be ineffective, soon ceased firing. It was, however, a mile and a half from the town to the anchorage, and any short could hardly have gone clean through the Roebuck as Beatson states. (Beatson, op. cit., V, 17).

373. Ground was broken for the first parallel on April 1. After General Lincoln defied the first summons to surrender, the second parallel was started on the 16th, and the third on the 21st. This last one, well within two hundred yards from the American abbatis, was ready for action on May 6. (Clinton to Germain, May 13, 1780, in Remembrancer, X, 41-44; Robertson, Diaries, pp. 224-228).

374. Charles Hudson, a captain of 1765, commanded the Orpheus, 32, in 1778, but she was burnt at Rhode Island to prevent her falling into d'Estaing's hands. He returned to England, and was appointed to the Richmond, 32, which he afterwards commanded in Graves' fleet in the action with De Grasse in the Chesapeake, 1781. He

374. (Continued) was captured there, later exchanged, but he held no further command, and in 1793 was superannuated as a rear-admiral. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 565).

375. Fort Moultrie had not been sufficiently rebuilt after the 1776 attack to withstand a determined siege, and the American garrison of two hundred men capitulated on May 7. The terms of capitulation were more generous than those won by the Charleston garrison; the soldiers, considered as prisoners of war on parole, were given permission to reside anywhere with their families except in Charleston while it was under siege. (McCrady, op. cit., 491-492).

376. The last American route to the interior was the Cooper River. The British navy made several attempts to get into the river, but the main channel being blocked by a number of sunken vessels, it was decided to attempt it by the Hog Island channel, but this was covered by the American works on Mount Pleasant and Fort Moultrie. Hamond, according to this account, must have convoyed this force of five hundred seamen and marines under the command of Hudson to Mount Pleasant on April 19, and the capture of this led to the capture of Fort Moultrie. Arbuthnot's dispatch makes no mention of Hamond in this sortie, but after Mount Pleasant was taken, information was received that the Americans were abandoning their post at Lampriere's Point on the Cooper River, and Hamond apparently led the British force there. (Keith Papers, I, 141, 167, 169; Beatson, op. cit., V, 21-22).

377. Hamond is probably referring to Thomas Irving, who was Receiver-General of the Quit Rents from 1774 to 1775; James Simpson was the Attorney-General. (W. R. Smith, South Carolina as a Royal Province, New York, 1903, p. 413).

378. Arbuthnot's impatience may be partly explained by his presumable receipt, by this time, of Admiralty orders of March 16, 1780. These stated that in view of Rodney's success off the Spanish coast, the enemy would now probably concentrate in America rather than on the invasion of Britain, and a French squadron, of at most twelve of the line, was expected to sail from Brest at the end of March. Arbuthnot was therefore ordered to assemble his force at New York to await

378. (Continued) the arrival of Rear-Admiral Graves with a reinforcement of eight sail of the line. The admiralty, probably then unaware of the loss of the Defiance, thought that Arbuthnot would have supremacy with the resulting thirteen of the line. (Sandwich Papers, III, 237-238).

379. Thomas Pelham Clinton, 1752-1795, a cousin of Sir Henry Clinton, was the son of the second Duke of Newcastle, the ninth Earl of Lincoln. He took part with Clinton in the 1776 expedition against Charleston, and he rose to be a major-general. He was a member of Parliament from 1774 to 1780, when despite government support he was defeated in a three way race for the two Westminster seats by Rodney and Charles James Fox. He became the third Duke of Newcastle in 1794. (J. Doran, ed., Last Journals of Horace Walpole, London, 1859), II, passim.)

380. General A. Leslie served almost throughout the American war. He was a colonel at Boston in 1775, landed on Staten Island in 1776 as a brigadier, and commanded the detachment of troops at Princeton just before the battle in 1777. He commanded the advance guard from Philadelphia to New York in 1778. He was to take possession of Charleston on May 12, 1780. (Robertson, Diaries, passim.).

381. Presumably this altercation took place in early May. On April 2, Arbuthnot wrote to Elphinstone, who was in close contact with Clinton, that " ... my impatience for the success of Sir Henry is in the extreme. The moment I can give him the smallest assistance with the ships I will embrace it". (Keith Papers, I, 157).

382. General Lincoln, rejecting out of hand Clinton's first summons on April 10, called a council on the 20th, but the citizens rather than the military opposed the evacuation of the city. On the 21st Lincoln sent a flag of truce to Clinton proposing terms for an honorable capitulation so favorable to the Americans that the British immediately rejected them. Lincoln could not bring himself to accept the terms offered by the British on April 10. American supplies began to fail by the 22nd, and on the 26th they received news that no major reinforcements could reach them. The army then talked of evacuation, but the citizens threatened to burn their boats. By May 2 all hope had left the garrison, and, on the 8th, Clinton summoned the town again. (McCrady, op. cit., passim.).

383. Lincoln rejected the British terms of May 8, and submitted counter proposals. Clinton asked for time to communicate with Arbuthnot, and it was agreed that hostilities should cease until the morning of the 10th. Arbuthnot then went up the Ashley River to Clinton's headquarters on the evening of the 8th, and on the morning of the 9th, the British modifications of Lincoln's articles were sent into the city. Lincoln refused these, and so hostilities started again on the evening of the 9th, with a bombardment that lasted all night. On the 10th a group of Charlestonians petitioned Lincoln to come to terms, and, on the 11th, he finally agreed to the terms that he had last refused on the 9th. (Clinton to Germain, May 13, 1780, loc. cit.; Robertson, Diaries, pp. 227-229; McCrady, op. cit., 495-503).

384. General Leslie entered the city on May 12, while Elphinstone captured several American ships, which were subsequently commissioned in the Royal Navy. The largest of these were the Providence, 32, the Boston, 28, renamed the Charleston, and some smaller craft. (Keith Papers, I, 173-174).

385. In this celebrated action, Howe commanding the Channel fleet went to intercept an important French food convoy of 117 sail from America. With his flag in the Queen Charlotte, 100, and with twenty-five of the line, Howe opposed the French fleet of twenty-six sail under Rear-Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, and he sunk one and captured six French battleships. Douglas received a medal for distinguished conduct. (Clowes, op. cit., IV, 226 and passim.).

386. The classification of ships into rates, based on the number of guns carried, was standardized by Admiral Anson in the middle of the eighteenth century as a move toward greater uniformity. The ships were divided into three groups. The first group, the battleships, were intended to form a part of the line of battle; the second group, the cruisers, regarded as too small for line of battle, were used for scouting and detached purposes, while the third group consisted of the small miscellaneous vessels. The first two groups were each divided into three rates, with a first rate being a

386. (Continued) three decked ship of the line of one hundred guns or more. The most common ship of the line was the third rate of seventy-four guns on two decks. The Roebuck was a fifth rate. (Richmond, "The Navy", loc. cit., I, 45-46).

387. This was the Groix action of June 23, 1795. Bridport, with fourteen sail of the line, encountered Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse near the island of Groix, which is north-west of Betteisle. In a confused engagement, the British were able to capture only three of the twelve French ships. (Callender, op. cit., 326-327).

388. Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport, 1727-1814, a younger brother of Admiral Samuel, Viscount Hood, became Admiral of the Blue in 1794, and was Howe's second in command. For his services in the "Glorious First of June", he was created a peer of Ireland in August, 1794, with the title of Baron Bridport. In 1796, after the Groix action, he was made Vice-Admiral of England, and his title was converted into the English peerage. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

389. Douglas' action is described as follows:

> When no ships were in a situation to support him but two others, undaunted by the heavy fire of nine sail of the enemy's fleet, he boldly arrested their flight at the very mouth of l'Orient: and to his intrepidity and perseverance England stands chiefly indebted for the capture of three ships of the enemy's line.

(John Marshall, Royal Naval Biography, London, 1824, II, 54).

390. W. L. Clowes states that the Queen Charlotte, "which had distinguished herself above all other ships", was passed over in Bridport's "meagre and almost grudging" dispatch. Lord Howe took up for Douglas, as did other contemporaries, but as Barrow points out, "there was no liberality, nor even common courtesy observed by Lord Bridport towards Earl Howe, or any of his followers". (Clowes, op. cit., IV, 265; Barrow, op. cit., 303).

391. The *Paragus* left Charleston on May 17, reaching Spithead on June 14. Hamond presented himself to the Admiralty office with the dispatches on June 15. (*Remembrancer*, X, 44).

392. On June 2, 1780, a mob of some 60,000 persons went to Westminster with a petition to repeal the Catholic Relief Act. Turned away from Parliament by troops, the mob moved into the city, and on the 4th, seeing there was no law enforcement, sacked Catholic chapels. By the 5th the mob, having passed out of the control of the Protestant religious fanatics, became bent on plunder and destruction. The climax was reached in the night of the 7th, and it was generally believed that had the mob been led by men of ability, "London must have been entirely over-turned". The military went into action on the 8th, and the riot was soon quelled. (Wraxall, *Memoirs*, I, 243; Hunt, *op. cit.*, 205-207).

393. Lord George Gordon, 1751-1793, a younger son of the third Duke of Gordon, served in the navy for some time until 1772. Member of Parliament from 1774, he accepted the presidency of the Protestant Association in December, 1779, which had been formed to secure repeal of the Catholic Relief Act of 1778. Gordon himself presented the petition to Parliament, but on June 5, the Protestant Association, alarmed at the mob's behavior, appealed for peace. On June 9 Gordon was sent to the Tower of London being tried for high treason in February, 1781, but acquitted as there was no proof he had approved the riots. In 1788 he was sentenced for libel to Newgate prison for five years, and he died there from a fever. (*D.N.B.* by L. Stephen).

394. The King wrote to Sandwich at 1:30 p.m. on June 15 that:

> The good news sent to me by Lord Sandwich is most pleasing. I desire in the evening he will direct Sir Andrew Hamond to come to the Queen's House, that I may hear his account of the whole. I trust it will be thought right to have a seventy-

394. (Continued)

four gun ship sent for the Admiral Arbuth-
not to hoist his flag on board, and to
send Sir Andrew to command.

Apparently Sandwich thought that he should go with Hamond, for at 5:15 p.m. the same day, the King wrote again: "I am always explicit in my words. I did not mean you should come this evening with Sir Andrew Hamond". (Sandwich Papers, III, 247).

395. Frederick, Lord North, 1732-1792, entered the House of Commons in 1754. Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1767, he became the First Lord of the Treasury in 1770. Although he often sought permission to resign as chief minister after Burgoyne's surrender, he continued serving the King until 1782. Then came the coalition with Fox, and after that he generally acted in opposition to Pitt. (D.N.B. by G. F. Russell-Barker).

396. Henry Clinton, 1720-1794, ninth Earl of Lincoln and second Duke of Newcastle, was the nephew of Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, the famous parliamentarian, whom he succeeded in 1768, having been granted the reversion of Pelham's Duchy. As second duke he did not play any great part in political life although his great borough influence made him much sought after by all factions of the Whig party. (D.N.B. by H. M. Stephens).

397. The Rev. Sir Henry Parker, D.D., d. 1782, was the elder brother of Admiral Hyde Parker, the elder. He died unmarried, and his brother then succeeded to the baronetcy. (Burke, Peerage, p. 780).

398. Hamond received the news of the birth of his son in late March, 1780, just before he crossed the Charleston bar. The same packet informed him "of the loss of my dear friend Mr. Stanley, and the manner of it cuts me to the soul". (Keith Papers, I, 155-146).

399. This stood on the location of the present Buckingham Palace.

400. From a premature report of the surrender of Charleston through the Sardinian Minister, which unlike the general rumors proved to be correct, the King was in high hopes

400. (Continued) that American resistance would come to an end in the summer "if no great disaster befalls us". Coming as it did, a few days after the riots, the news from Charleston seemed to reveal the turning point of the American war, as the main weakness of the King and ministry was the conduct of the colonial conflict. It thus greatly strengthened the government's hand, for the rumors of defeat that preceded Hamond's arrival presaged to the Whigs "the dregs of national humiliation". (Fortescue, Correspondence, V, 57).

401. In the late seventies political tension had been increasing from a variety of causes. Under Lord North's vicissitudes and the King's personal system of government, the influence of the ministry steadily declined, and in late 1779, a state of "chaos and misery" had been reached. The "unreformed House of Commons" by its very nature was unable to take full advantage of extra-Parliamentary opinions arising from movements which successively reached critical stages from 1779 to 1780. The crisis in Ireland in the autumn of 1779, with the rise of the Volunteers and Grattan's declaration of legislative independence; the Yorkshire Association, and the first genuinely national demand for parliamentary reform; and the opposition's use of Burke's plan of Economical Reform with its culmination of Dunning's successful resolution "that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished"; all had a cumulative effect on the political tension of which the excesses were to burst forth in the Gordon riots. That Lord Gordon could have organized the carefully prepared and well financed outbreak "is incredible"; Lord Stormont wrote to the King that "in my opinion this is a deep laid Revolt and that the Ringleaders as least act with Deliberate Rage and upon a fixt. predetermined plan". (Fortescue, Correspondence, V, 75; H. Butterfield, George III, Lord North and The People, London, 1949, pp. v-vii).

402. One of the reasons that the riot lasted as long as it did was the jealousy that existed in the House of Commons whenever the army was called upon for police duty. In addition, the vacillating conduct of the city magistrates, some of whom took part in the "No-Popery" movement, created the belief, both upon the ministers'

402. (Continued) and upon the rioters, that they were actually supporting the riots. At first the army had to submit to insults, and the ministry was unable at first, as Hamond points out, to gather enough troops to guard threatened places. Although the opposition leaders denounced the mob, many people, Wraxall states, believed the parliamentary Whigs privately encouraged the rioters with the Earl of Shelburne being particularly, though falsely, suspected. (Wraxall, Memoirs, I, 249; Butterfield, op. cit., 377-379).

403. On June 3 the mob attacked the house of Sir George Savile, who had proposed the repeal of the relief articles. On the 5th, "Lord Sandwich was torn out of his chariot ... and was saved only by the Horse Guards ... The houses of Justices Hyde and Fielding were demolished and their goods burnt". On the 6th, the mob destroyed Lord Mansfield's house and all of his belongings. The climax was reached on the 7th, when the mob attempted to take the Bank, but were beaten back at the last moment. Newgate and King's Bench prisons were destroyed as much as possible and all the prisoners loosed, while Barnard's Inn and the Fleet Prison were also fired. By the 8th, with the military acting in strength, the riot died down after a clash in Fleet Street. It was reported that 285 rioters were killed; 139 were tried, fifty-nine were convicted, but only twenty-one were executed. (Walpole, Last Journal, II, 407-409).

404. It is unfortunate that Hamond omits mentioning these reasons. In this period most captains preferred a frigate command for it presented greater opportunities for making a fortune from prize money. One natural explanation is that he was unwilling to serve as Arbuthnot's flag captain, as was envisioned in the King's letter to Sandwich, note 394. However, Sandwich wrote to Arbuthnot on June 18, which letter is a good example of his method.

> I have seen Sir Andrew Hamond several times, who does you the justice I am sure you deserve. He is very willing to come out to serve under you either as your captain or in any other station: but I

404. (Continued)

> doubt whether we can send him out this year, as we have no 74-gun ship in readiness .... Besides, I flatter myself that when you are joined by Admiral Graves, you will be master of the American seas without wanting any further assistance.

(Sandwich Papers, III, 247-248; Richmond, loc. cit., 61).

405. Lord Ducie, note 238, returned to England after the loss of the Augusta in Delaware River, and after an intermediary command, he moved into the Monarch and went out to the West Indies as a reinforcement to Rodney. He returned to England after the war, but held no further command. (Charnock, op. cit., VI, 474).

406. Parliament, prorogued on July 8 until August 24, was dissolved on September 1. Walpole reported that the ministers consulted Lord Loughborough, who was on the northern circuit, and he advised it as he found that the Court was daily losing ground. (Last Journal, II, 425).

407. George Selwyn, 1719-1791, celebrated wit, first entered Parliament in 1747, and sat for the city of Gloucester from 1754 until this time. It was reported that his chief occupation in Parliament was to snore in unison with Lord North. He voted for the Court Party and, commanding two votes in the House of Commons, he was rewarded with lucrative sinecures. He joined a classical knowledge and a taste for fine arts with a morbid interest for watching criminal executions, yet, possessing a deep knowledge of human nature, he counted among his friends many prominent people. (J. H. Jesse, George Selwyn, and his Contemporaries, London, 1882, I, 1-6, 25).

408. On August 22, 1780, Selwyn wrote to North that he intended "to resign all thoughts of being a candidate at the next election". Apparently he was prevailed upon to run again for, on September 11, he wrote to the Earl of Carlisle, with whom he had corresponded for many years, about the Gloucester election.

408. (Continued)

> There is a party here called the True Blues, who lead Sir A. H. and I about, as if they had purchased us, to show in a fair. They cost me, some years ago, twice two thousand pounds, by opposing me, and now are doing all they can to make me pay four for befriending me; and these people have given Administration such an idea of their own omnipotence that I should have never been forgiven, if I had not yielded to this importunity. I am assured that it will succeed, and that both Sir A. and myself shall be returned .... Yet it is a piece of extravagence ... for this scheme of the Tories has not been taken up with any support, but a fortnight ago.

(Jesse, op. cit., IV, 362-364; E. S. Roscoe and H. Clergue, editors, George Selwyn, his Letters and his Life, London, 1899, pp. 121-122).

409. Selwyn's letter of September 11 to the Earl of Carlisle continues:

> Sir Andrew goes upon the surest grounds, because I believe that he will be franked to a certain point, and is sure of a seat in another place, if not here. He is really a very agreable man, and seems to penetrate into the characters of the people he has seen very well. He entertained me much yesterday with his account of my old friend the Duke of Newcastle. He speaks of you in terms of the highest esteem.

(Roscoe and Clergue, op. cit., 122).

410. George, Earl Macartney, 1737-1806, diplomat and colonial governor, was born and educated in Ireland where he was Chief Secretary from 1769 to 1772. He was raised to the Irish peerage in 1776, and in 1779, he was captured by the French when they they took Grenada. Exchanged, Lord North sent him on a mission to Ireland in early 1780. Later he was Governor of Madras, and then of the Cape of Good Hope colony from 1796 to 1798. (D.N.B. by H. M. Chichester).

411. Although Selwyn gave up the Gloucester contest, he had himself quietly returned from his old family borough of Ludgershall. (Jesse, op. cit., I, 26).

412. From several letters addressed to Selwyn, it appears that his political friends "chiefly laboured to carry the point" that Selwyn's interests were "so entirely joined with Sir A. Hamond's, that they should look upon it as a common cause". The other old member from Gloucester was Charles Barrow many of whose supporters, while enitely willing to vote for Selwyn, were averse to supporting the outsider, Hamond, who was replacing their man. Some political leaders expressed the belief that Selwyn and Hamond would carry the town, but Dr. Warner, one of Selwyn's close friends, wrote on September 5, two days before the polling started, that "the opinion of the most intelligent ... is the same as yours, that the old members will be returned", that is, Selwyn and Barrow. Hamond was a Member of Parliament for Ipwich from 1796 to 1806. (Jesse, op. cit., IV, 382-385).

413. In the fifteenth century residence was required in the county or borough represented in Parliament, but these residential requirements fell into disuse, and the last of them was repealed in 1774. Hamond is referring to the practise of being elected, in the eighteenth century manner, from more than one constituency in order in insure election. A good example of this was in the 1784 election, when Charles James Fox, although returned from Westminster, was prevented from taking his seat by a scrutiny of the votes, and so was returned from Orkney in order to take his place at the opening of the next session. (F. A. Ogg, English Government and Politics, New York, 1936, p. 286).

414. Francis Legge, who had entered the army in 1741, was a kinsman of the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lieutenant-colonel in 1773, Legge was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia in June of that year--another example of eighteenth century nepotism. He was in Nova Scotia until recalled on May 12, 1776, but he retained his post until 1782, sharing his salary with the succeeding lieutenant-governors, Arbuthnot, Hughes, and then Hamond. (J. B. Brebner, The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia, New York, 1937, pp. 242 ff.)

415. The Naval Commissioner at Halifax received £ 1000 yearly. On November 27, 1781, Hamond wrote to Germain that his income would "not maintain my Horses, pay my servant's wages, and find my House in fuel". (Brebner, op. cit., 337).

416. Richard Hughes, 1729-1812, a captain of 1756, served in Indian waters in the Seven Years War. In June, 1778, he was sent out to Halifax as resident commissioner and lieutenant-governor. He succeeded to his baronetcy in 1780, and held this post until September of that year, when he was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue. In 1781 he commanded the squadron in the Downs, and from 1789 to 1792 he commanded at Halifax. He became admiral in 1794, but saw no further service. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

417. Thomas, Lord Graves, 1725-1802, a first cousin of Admiral Samuel Graves, note 161, was posted in 1755, and promoted to flag rank in 1779. In 1780 he sailed to America with a reinforcement of six sail of the line, and joined Arbuthnot in July, taking part in the Chesapeake action. Succeeding to the command of the station in July, 1781, after Arbuthnot's resignation, he was unable, with a force inferior to de Grasse's large fleet, to relieve Cornwallis at Yorktown, and he gave up the command to Rear-Admiral Digby in November. Later he was under Howe at the "Glorious First of June", 1794, and for his conduct he was raised to the Irish peerage. Robert Digby, 1732-1815, held the command of the North American station until the cessation of the war. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

418. William Petty, 1737-1805, first Marquis of Lansdowne, but better known as the Earl of Shelburne, entered the House of Lords in 1761, and was appointed Secretary of State under Chatham in 1766, when he tried to regain American good will. Resigning in 1769, he attacked North's American policy, but he was not allied with the Rockingham Whigs, and Chatham's followers supported him after the death of their leader. In early 1782, Shelburne asserted he would not acknowledge American independence. This recommended him to the King, and after Rockingham's death in June, 1782, Shelburne, who was Rockingham's Secretary of State, formed his own ministry. (D.N.B. by G. F. Russell-Barker).

419. The third secretaryship was abolished at this time. Shelburne as Secretary of State for Home Affairs handled Irish and Colonial matters, while Fox, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, combined the work of the former southern and northern departments relating to affairs outside Britain. (Hunt, op. cit., 229).

420. This was the first of two changes in 1782. News of the Yorktown disaster reached London on November 25, 1781, two days before Parliament met. Fox, scenting dissension within the cabinet, launched an attack on the administration of the navy in January, 1782, and on February 28, a motion to end the American war was carried by nineteen votes. On March 19, Lord North advised the King to send for either Rockingham or Shelburne, and on the 20th he resigned. (Fortescue, Correspondence, V, 374 ff; Hunt, op. cit., 226-227).

421. Charles Watson-Wentworth, 1730-1782, second Marquis of Rockingham, entered the House of Lords in 1757. Raised in the strictest Whig principles, he soon showed himself to be an uncompromising opponent of the royal prerogative. He headed the government from 1765 to 1766, which was accomodating to the Americans, and in 1778, he declared for immediate recognition of American independence. After North's resignation, the King tried to avoid the Whigs, and withheld his confidence from Rockingham's ministry, which ended with his death on July 1, 1782. (D.N.B. by J. M. Rigg).

422. Much of this disaffection had come about through the "overheated zeal of Governor Legge". He had early in the war proclaimed martial law, and had attempted to raise a militia, but the "universal ferment throughout the whole people", when he convened the Assembly to raise taxes to defray these military expenses, caused the program to be suspended. This spirit had primarily come to the surface because Legge had antagonized the vested interests of Halifax by his vigorous assault on their spoils system. Successful at first, he was beaten when the opposition, chiefly composed of influential placemen on the council, hit on the scheme of representing Nova Scotia as dependably loyal unless "Legge's ineptitude should set it aflame" from the influence of the American revolution. There

422. (Continued) was much rejoicing when Legge was recalled in 1776, and an address of loyalty and an offer of taxation to Britain were passed. (Sandwich Papers, I, 114, 117; Brebner, op. cit., 244, 287).

423. One of Hamond's chief problems concerned the colonial constitutional controversy of control of the public purse. The Nova Scotian assembly had engaged in a long battle with the authoritarian Hughes, Hamond's predecessor, who the assembly claimed had made considerable unauthorized expenditures. Hamond inherited this problem, and when his first assembly took up the fiscal fight in June, 1782, he wisely turned the problem over to the wise Richard Bulkeley, long time Provincial Secretary, who reached a solution acceptable to both sides. (Brebner, op. cit., 348-350).

424. This ship was captured on April 19, 1782, by Admiral Samuel Hood serving under Rodney, just after the battle of the Saints. On the 18th Hood was detached and, with ten sail of the line, he captured the Caton, another 64-gun ship, and two smaller vessels. The Caton was in Admiral Graves' convoy bound for England, but on September 8, 1782, she sprang a leak, and being rather disabled she was ordered with the Pallas to put into Halifax. (Beatson, op. cit., V, 473-474).

425. Richard Fisher was appointed to command the Caton under Rear-Admiral Graves. Previously, as a lieutenant, he commanded a 14-gun brig which had been sunk to block the Savannah bar in 1779. In 1793 he was commanding a 32-gun frigate on the North American station. (Clowes, op. cit., IV, 110, 198).

426. John Parr, d. 1791, served in the army for some time before he was appointed governor on July 29, 1782, succeeding Legge. He was sworn in on October 9, but created wide dissatisfaction by bad management of the Loyalists who swarmed into Nova Scotia from America after the war. He was the last governor prior to the separation of New Brunswick from Nova Scotia, and from 1786 to his death he was the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. (Brebner, op. cit., 337 ff.)

427. Douglas' wife was the former Miss Anne Burgess of New York. Douglas had two children: Andrew Snape, born in 1788, secretary of the legagion at the Court of the Two Sicilies in the early 1830's, and Anne-Hamond, who in 1808 married Sir George Bowyer, Bart. (Burke, Peerage, p. 480).

428. Christopher Parker, 1762-1804, son of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, was posted in 1779, and in that year he took part in the capture of Omoa, and captured two Spanish treasure ships. He lost the Pallas when she grounded on St. George's Isle in November, 1783. He commanded a seventy-four in the 1795 Groix action, and in that year, when only thirty-three, he was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue. (Clowes, op. cit., IV, passim.).

429. Negotiations with Franklin in Paris were begun in early 1782, but were marked by the Fox-Shelburne feud for control. The Rockingham ministry believed that if America could be detached from France, then the latter's demands could be resisted in view of Rodney's victory at the Saints. England, therefore, recognized American independence on September 27, 1782, with the object of undermining French influence over America. This was followed by a preliminary peace treaty signed on November 30 to be effective when England and France came to terms, the preliminaries of which were settled on January 20, 1783. The definitive Treaty of Versailles was signed the following September 3. (Hunt, op. cit., 238-242).

430. Howe had struck his flag on October 30, 1778, after returning from America, and in 1779 he declined "any future service so long as the present ministers remained in office". Rockingham's cabinet called on him, and on April 2, 1782, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet, and on the 8th, he was promoted Admiral of the Blue. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

431. The driver is a square sail formerly used when the wind was aft or quartering; it is now commonly known as the spanker. (Smyth, op. cit., 264).

432. Sir Alexander Ball, 1757-1809, a lieutenant of 1778, served in American waters until 1780. He was on Rodney's flagship during the battle of the Saints,

432. (Continued) and two days after he received his commander's commission, April 14, 1782. He was posted on March 20, 1783, returned to England with Hamond, and went on half pay. Later he forced the surrender of Malta, and was then appointed governor there. He was promoted rear-admiral in 1805. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

433. This term implies that a ship is close enough to land so that a sounding can be made with the lead and where the depth is about eighty or a hundred fathoms. (Smyth, op. cit., 639).

434. John Augustus, Lord Hervey, d. 1798, the nephew of Admiral Augustus John, third Earl of Bristol, note 69, was posted in 1781. (Clowes, op. cit., IV, 110).

435. Douglas, after commanding the Roebuck until July, 1781, moved into the Chatham, 50, under Admiral Digby. Hamond wrote to the Admiralty on September 10, 1781, that the Chatham had just put into Halifax after taking, on September 2, the French 32-gun frigate Magicienne after a half hour battle. (Remembrancer, XIII, 59).

436. Shelburne's ministry, formed after Rockingham's death in July, 1782, had the chief responsibility of making peace. Almost every article of the preliminary treaty was adversely criticized in Parliament on February 17, 1783, when Shelburne had 140 supporters, with North and Fox having respectively 120 and 90. Several members of the cabinet resigned in protest over the terms, and over Shelburne's excess assumption of power, including First Lord of the Admiralty Keppel. Fox then formed his "unnatural alliance" with North, and together their forces censured the ministry on February 21, for making such concessions in the preliminary treaties. Shelburne resigned on the 24th, and the King did everything possible to prevent the coalition being forced on him, and consequently there was no organized ministry until April 2, when the Duke of Portland took office as First Lord of the Treasury, with Fox and North as Secretaries of State. (Hunt, op. cit., 243-245).

437. William Petty succeeded his father as Earl of Shelburne, Irish peerage, in 1761. He was not created Marquis of Lansdowne until December, 1784, upon Pitt's nomination. (D.N.B. by G. F. Russell-Barker).

438. American independence by this time was generally conceded by all parties, but the Whigs had objections to the concessions made to France and Spain. The King and a majority of the cabinet would have traded Gibralter for suitable compensation, but most of the Whigs were violently opposed to this. In the American treaty, the chief objection was "the abandonment of the loyalists", and also the failure to hold New York and other areas in British control as a surety for proper treatment of the loyalists. Wraxall, however, writing some years later, came to regard the treaties as about the best that could be expected although he was originally opposed to them. (Annual Register, 1783, XXVI, 163 ff; Wraxall, Memoirs, II, 433-434).

439. William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, 1738-1809, third Duke of Portland, entered the political scene allied with Rockingham and opposed to North. Lord-lieutenant of Ireland under Rockingham, he was supported by Fox to head the ministry, but resigned when Shelburne's ministry was formed. He was First Lord of the Treasury from February to December, 1783, and thereafter he was generally regarded as the head of the old Rockingham Whigs. He allied himself with Pitt in 1794, becoming Home Secretary, which office he ably administered until 1801. He was prime minister again from 1807 to 1809. (D.N.B. by H. M. Stephens).

440. Charles James Fox, 1749-1806, great grandson of King Charles II, nevertheless constantly opposed the influence of the Crown. The most steadfast opponent of North, Fox took office as Foreign Secretary under Rockingham in March, 1782, but jealousy and indignation at Shelburne over the peace negotiations, led to his resignation when Shelburne formed his own ministry. The subsequent coalition with his old enemy North was publicly ridiculed, for he and North differed on matters of basic political principles. As Foreign Secretary from April to December, 1783, he was unable to make any great achievements. He was not to take office again until Pitt's death in 1806, when he was Foreign Secretary in Grenville's "All the Talents" administration. (D.N.B. by William Hunt).

441. Howe succeeded Keppel as First Lord on January 30, 1783. (Clowes, op. cit., IV, 325).

442. Hervey and the Raisonable arrived in Portsmouth in March, 1783, but Hamond did not go up to London until July. On the same day as Hamond's creation, the King dismissed the Fox-North coalition after Fox's India bills were defeated in the Lords. Hamond's baronetcy was probably part of the Christmas Honours List. (Beatson, op. cit., V, 713).

443. William Pitt, 1759-1806, entered Parliament in 1781, and attached himself to Shelburne then leader of his father's old following. In March, 1782, he declared he would never accept a subordinate position, and as Shelburne was weak in the House of Commons, he thus became Chancellor of the Exchequer in July, 1782. The King offered him the Treasury in March, 1783, which although refused at that time was accepted at the fall of the coalition in December. Despite his lack of a majority in the Commons he did not go to the country until March, 1784, when the election being "well-managed", he secured a large majority. (D.N.B. by W. Hunt).

444. Howe, appointed First Lord in January, 1783, remained only until April, being replaced by Keppel. He returned to the office in December, on the fall of the coalition, and he held that post until July, 1788. On April 20, 1782, he was created a peer of Great Britain as Viscount Howe, and he was raised to his earldom in 1788 upon his resignation from office. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

445. Charles Lennox, 1735-1806, third Duke of Richmond, uncle of C. J. Fox, was a diplomat and secretary of state in the 1760's. In 1780, during the Gordon riots, he proposed a bill for annual parliaments, manhood suffrage, and electoral districts. He was appointed Master General of the Ordnance under Rockingham, continued under Shelburne, and resigned in April, 1783, only to resume the office under Pitt that December. He remained in office 1795, being raised to field marshall in 1796. (D.N.B. by G. F. Russell-Barker).

446. This officer was at the head of the ancient office of Ordnance, which in general had two functions. The first was responsibility for supplying the Army and for the general efficiency of the artillery, both guns and

446. (Continued) men. The second was responsibility for the proper storage of all stores, and for those services relating to engineering. (Fortescue, op. cit., I, 309-310).

447. There were twelve land and six sea officers on this committee. Among the former were Generals Carleton, Howe and Cornwallis, while the sea officers were Admirals Barrington, Milbanke and Thomas Graves, Commodore Hotham, and Captains MacBride and Hamond. The Duke was, of course, the president. (Parliamentary Register, 1786, XIX, 191, 211).

448. On March 14, 1785, Parliament considered the Ordnance Estimates, and it appeared that the House, generally unsympathetic to the Duke, was much excited over his "passion for fortifications". James Luttrell, military surveyor-general, strongly praised the Duke's plans, but Captain MacBride, Member for Plymouth, on whose estates part of the proposed fortifications were to be located, criticized Luttrell's facts and the general strategic layout of the plan. Opinion was clearly against the matter then, and as £ 50,000 had been granted the previous year for the fortifications, Pitt was willing that this should remain untouched "until Parliament should be satisfied from the report of persons in the first ranks of the several military departments...." (Parliamentary Register, 1785, XVII, 407-419; Wraxall, Memoirs, IV, 105-107).

449. The speaker at this time was Charles Wolfran Cornwall, 1735-1789, a bencher of Gray's Inn. In 1764 he married the sister of the future Earl of Liverpool, which greatly influenced his political career. Member of Parliament in 1768, he was a lord of the treasury from 1774 to 1780, when he was elected speaker in succession to Sir Fletcher Norton. He died in office. (D.N.B. by W. Hunt).

450. This final debate took place on February 27, 1786, with Pitt being the chief proponent of the plan. MacBride, speaking with Admiral Barrington's authority, said that the naval officers were opposed to the Plymouth fortifications and that "they were not permitted to have an opinion of their own". Apparently the Duke did his utmost to insure that the committee would turn in a favor-

450. (Continued) able report, which the King, Pitt stated, had thought fit to withhold. Richard Sheridan made a brilliant speech attacking the plan, in which he carried most of the country gentlemen, normally supporters of government. The vote was 169 on each side. (Parliamentary Register, 1786, XIX, 170ff; Wraxall, Memoirs, IV, 264-266).

451. The broad pendant is a swallow-tailed piece of bunting flown as the distinctive mark of a commodore; it was originally evolved out of the effort to distinguish the ship of the officer in command of a squadron when not of flag rank. The rank of commodore was introduced into the Royal Navy in 1695, but was not permanently established until 1734, when commodores were given the same status as brigadiers. The rank was temporary and the commodore had no authority over captains senior to him. (Perrin, op. cit., 102-107).

452. Hamond errs on his dates here. Despite an Anglo-Spanish convention of 1786 settling some colonial differences, the Spanish, and especially the minister Florida Blanca, believed that England was attempting to trade with the Spanish American colonies and even to separate them from Spain. Blanca, overestimating Spanish strength, provoked in April, 1789, the capture of a British ship in Nootka Sound off Vancouver Island, where some English merchants had established a settlement for the Chinese trade. Spain claimed all land on the American west coast up to sixty degrees north latitude, and Nootka by discovery prior to Captain Cook's claim for England, who held Spanish claims inadmissible. British action to this was started on May 3, 1790, when an Order-in-Council was passed for pressing seamen in the ports, and the commons agreed to a vote of credit of one million pounds. (Hunt, op. cit., 318-320).

453. This fleet was made up to twenty-nine sail of the line and many smaller vessels under Howe, senior Admiral of the White; his flag officers included Admirals Barrington, Hood, Hotham and Jervis. This fleet cruised at sea in August and September. (Clowes, op. cit., IV, 107).

454. Florida Blanca, unable to secure expected assistance from America or France, yielded to Pitt's pressure and, on October 28, 1790, withdrew Spanish claims north of actual Spanish settlements on the American west coast, and

454. (Continued) agreed to give full restitution and compensation to the English merchants. Pitt's policy of firmness did much to break the long-standing Franco-Spanish entent, for his Catholic Majesty did not want to accept the pacte national offered by the French Assembly in place of the old pacte de famille, and thereafter Spain moved away from the French orbit. (J. H. Clapham, "Pitt's First Decade", in Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, edited by A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, 3 vols., New York, 1922-1923, I, 199-202).

455. This is Samuel, Viscount Hood, 1724-1816, the older brother of Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport. Viscount Hood, promoted rear-admiral in 1780, served under Rodney in 1781 and 1782 in the West Indies, note 424. Vice-admiral in 1787, he sat at the admiralty board from July, 1788, until February, 1793, when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterran. In 1804 Hamond's daughter married Hood's grandson. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

456. Pitt's aim in foreign affairs after 1788 was to make the Triple Alliance of Britain, Prussia and Holland the means to a European peace. As a result of the Russo-Turkish war, Denmark invaded Sweden, and the latter's imminent fall, which would have made Russia supreme in the Baltic, would have seriously affected all members of the Triple Alliance. They, therefore, compelled Denmark to cease hostilities, partly by the threat of sending out the British fleet. Catherine of Russia refused allied mediation and captured Ochakov, which became a symbol of national prestige, for Pitt demanded in March, 1791, that Russia make peace with Turkey on the basis of the status quo in 1788. (Hunt, op. cit., 326-327; Clapham, loc. cit., 203-207).

457. The importance of Ochakov was greatly magnified, and Pitt was unable to convince the House of Commons that a Russian war might be necessary and that naval credits should be voted to support his March ultimatum. By the summer of 1791 Britain had made a volte-face over Ochakov, and Russia got her Dniester River boundary. This affair led to Britain's isolation and for some time thereafter she was only a spectator of European diplomacy. (Clapham, loc. cit., 207-210).

458. John Pitt, 1756-1835, second Earl of Chatham, and older brother of William Pitt, had a military career until July, 1788, when he became First Lord of the Admiralty on his brother's request. He held this office until December, 1794. He was Master-General of the Ordnance from 1801 to 1806, but his reputation was completely destroyed by his failure when commanding the Walcheren expedition in 1809, for he resembled his father only "in face and person". (D.N.B. by W. Broadfoot).

459. The mutiny took place in April, 1789, when the Bounty, an armed transport of 215 tons, was homeward bound from the South Pacific with breadfruit that were to be introduced into the West Indies. Some of the mutineers were captured in Tahiti in March, 1791, and ten of these finally reached Spithead in June, 1792. The Court Martial was held on board the Duke in September, with four being acquitted and three convicted but later pardoned. (H. S. Montgomerie, William Bligh, London, 1937, passim.)

460. Sir Roger Curtis, 1746-1816, a captain of 1776, was appointed by Howe to command his flagship the Eagle in 1777. Curtis, who returned to England with Howe in 1778, was one of his followers, and in 1790 he was appointed Howe's flag captain. In 1793 he moved into the Queen Charlotte as captain of the fleet, Andrew Snape Douglas being flag-captain. Curtis remained in this capacity as long as Howe flew his flag at sea, and he was much blamed for his failure to pursue the defeated French after the "First of June", 1794. Admiral in 1803, he was partly responsible for the Admiralty Instructions of 1806, which no longer required foreign ships to salute the King's flag within the narrow seas, note 126. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

461. William Bligh, 1754-1817, was promoted master by Captain Cook in 1776. Lieutenant in 1781, he took part in Howe's relief of Gibralter in that year. The Bounty sailed in December, 1787, but there were no other commissioned officers and no marines on board. After the mutiny Bligh navigated some 3600 miles in forty days in an open boat, and reached England in March, 1790, being soon posted in the December follow-

461. (Continued) ing. In 1801 he was present at the Copenhagen engagement and he was praised by Nelson. Governor of New South Wales from 1805 to 1808, he eventually became a vice-admiral. (D.N.B. by W. H. Tregellas).

462. It is quite possible that Hamond received some of this information from his nephew Captain Douglas, who was one of the eleven post-captains on the court martial board. The controversy over this was long and bitter. (Montgomerie, op. cit., 91).

463. Edmund Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution, first published in November, 1790, did much to decide English educated opinion that the French revolution was not a natural development of the English "Glorious Revolution". In June, 1791, Louis XVI attempted to flee from the country; the September massacres of 1792 aroused great indignation in England; and the execution of Louis in January, 1793, helped precipitate the war. (Hunt, op. cit., 329 ff.)

464. After Pitt's rebuff over Ochakov, internal affairs in England occupied his main intention, and after all France was the traditional enemy. Pitt sincerely worked for peace, and he rejected both the overtures put out for British support by the allies of Pillnitz, and the French emigrés request for a loan. As late as September, 1792, Pitt informed the allies that England planned to remain neutral, which was absolutely essential if her economic woes were to be rectified. (Robertson, op. cit., 358-359).

465. The growth of discontent within England can be primarily ascribed to political and economic reasons, and the effect of French propaganda was only secondary, although working men formed political clubs such as the London Corresponding Society on the French model. Tom Paine's Rights of Man, published in February 1791 and 1792, in answer to Burke's Reflections, had a tremendous sale, and convinced those unable to detect its errors that "democracy alone secures the rule of the general will". By April, 1792, Pitt's early tolerant attitude toward the French revolution was hardened by the founding of many of these political societies, the tremendous effect of the Rights of Man, and the outbreak of war in that month between France and Austria, (J. H. Rose, William Pitt and The Great War, London, 1911, pp. 10-23).

466. The budget of 1792, introduced in February, actually reduced the establishment of the navy to 16,000, for which Pitt was much attacked. Yet in 1784 he had raised the establishment from 15,000 to 18,000 men and had set aside ten per cent of the revenue for naval ship building; in 1788, the establishment was raised another 2000 men. (Sir H. W. Richmond, Statesmen and Sea Power, Oxford, 1946, pp. 158-169).

467. Until 1783 the tactics of the British navy were based on the Fighting Instructions issued by Admiral Russell in 1691, and modified by Admiral Rooke in 1703. Throughout the eighteenth century as tactical advances were made, they were incorporated in the form of Additional Instructions. These had been issued by Admirals Vernon, Anson, Hawke, Boscawen, Rodney and by Hood to his squadron in 1783, when the time was ripe for a clean sweep. The basis of the new tactical code was hereafter the Signal Book, and the Fighting Instructions were now merely explanatory. Howe, under Kempenfelt's influence, issued these tactical signals in 1782, and a second code in 1790. (J. S. Corbett, ed., Fighting Instructions, 1530-1816, London, 1905, pp. 175, 195).

468. Sir John Colpoys, 1742-1821, a captain of 1773, served on the North American station during the American Revolutionary War. He was appointed to the Hannibal, 74, in 1790 and remained in her through 1793. Promoted rear-admiral in 1794, his flagship was much involved in the Spithead mutiny of 1797. Admiral in 1801, he saw no active service after the mutiny. (D.N.B. by J. K. Laughton).

469. Parker, note 283, was first raised to flag rank as Rear-Admiral of the White in the promotion of January, 1793. He was Hamond's senior by seven years although a year younger. Later in 1793, he acted as first captain to Lord Hood in the Mediterranean. (Schomberg, op. cit., VI, 523).

470. "The Spanish Armament" of 1790 cruised at sea in August and September and used Howe's code of that year. This tactical system was used by Howe in his battle of June 1, 1794, and was followed by Admiral Duncan at Camperdown in 1797, and basically by Nelson in all his

470. (Continued) major actions. Unlike the code of 1782, the code of 1790 did not include the signals for breaking the enemy's line in the manner used by Rodney at the battle of the Saints--that is by a perpendicular or oblique attack in line ahead. In their place Howe substituted entirely new signals based on a stratagem of breaking the enemy's line by means of a parallel attack in which the British fleet, in line abreast, was to pass through the enemy's line and then to engage it from leeward. This prevented the enemy from running away and ensured the melée in which the superior British gunnery would be decisive. (Corbett, ed., Fighting Instructions, pp. 253-259).

471. This is an interesting point if Hamond has not erred in his chronology, as the general adaption of the French tricolor flag was not made until February, 1794. This considerably aided the British because in the "Glorious First of June", 1794, for example, when each British ship flew a squadronal red, white or blue flag, the Marlborough suffered severely from fire from other British ships through having her white flag mistaken for the French national flag, then white with a tricolor canton. (Perrin, op. cit., 120).

472. British policy in the summer of 1792 was "masterly inactivity", and while the British ambassador was withdrawn from Paris upon the fall of the French monarchy in August, 1792, this was done upon procedural grounds. After the French radical September massacres, political activity and discontent, largely inspired by food shortages, increased in England, but as late as November 6, Foreign Secretary Grenville wrote that non-intervention was the best policy. The situation was changed soon thereafter by France's conquest of Belgium, by the opening of the River Scheldt, by the French Convention's revolutionary decrees designed for export, and by efforts of the French embassy in London "to fan the embers of (British) discontent into a flame". (Rose, op. cit., 57-72).

473. The French ambassador was the ex-Marquis Chauvelin, but as his credentials were signed by Louis, deposed in August, 1792, he was informed that he could no longer be recognized. French republican pressure that Chauvelin be formally received, hence recognition of the Republic,

473. (Continued) added to the threat of war. On January 24, 1793, Chauvelin was ordered to leave the country before February 1, but the French acting without knowledge of this had ordered him to withdraw. (Rose, op. cit., 84, 108).

474. Guardships normally had only three-fifths of a crew.

475. Admiral J. E. Douglas, commander in 1794, was posted in 1795. He saw considerable action in the Napoleonic War, attaining flag rank in 1814. He was Commander-in-Chief at Jamaica from 1815 to 1818, and in 1838 he was promoted to Admiral of the Red. (William O'Byrne, Naval Biographical Dictionary, London, 1849, p. 249).

476. The Phaeton was sent out to cruise in 1793 to protect English commerce from French privateers in the Channel. Among the first captures made by Douglas was a French privateer with approximately two million dollars on board. The captain's share of prize money was normally three-eights. (Marshall, op. cit., II, 170).

477. George II had formed a new establishment of marine officers in 1759 consisting of a general, lieutenant-general and three colonels of marines. The generals were flag officers; the colonels, post captains included Sir James Wallace, note 289, who was junior to Hamond. (Schomberg, op. cit., V, 218).

478. There is no indication that Hamond ever commanded at sea again. In the autumn of 1793 he sat at the Navy Board as extra Commissioner, becoming Deputy Comptroller of the Navy in February, 1794. He succeeded to the Comptrollership on August 30, 1794, holding it until his retirement upon Pitt's death in 1806. (Marshall, op. cit., II, 60).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FIRST LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY, 1753-1806

June,	1751	George, Lord Anson, Admiral
November,	1756	Richard, Earl Temple
April,	1757	Daniel, Earl of Winchelsea
June,	1757	George, Lord Anson, Admiral
June,	1762	George, Earl of Halifax
October,	1762	George Grenville
April,	1763	John, Earl of Egmont
April,	1763	John, Earl of Sandwich
September,	1763	John, Earl of Egmont
September,	1766	Sir Charles Saunders, Vice-Admiral
December	1766	Sir Edward Hawke, Admiral
January,	1771	John, Earl of Sandwich
March,	1782	Hon. Augustus Keppel, Admiral
January,	1783	Richard, Viscount Howe, Admiral
April,	1783	Hon. Augustus Keppel, Admiral
December,	1783	Richard, Viscount Howe, Admiral
July,	1788	John, Earl of Chatham
December,	1794	George, Earl Spencer
February,	1801	John, Earl St. Vincent, Admiral
May,	1804	Henry, Viscount Melville
May,	1805	Charles, Lord Barham, Admiral

Authority: W. L. Clowes, The Royal Navy, Vols. III, IV & V.

APPENDIX B

FLAG PROMOTIONS OF THE LEADING NAVAL OFFICERS IN THE HAMOND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Name	Born	Posted	Rear Adm.	Vice Adm.	Adm. Blue	Adm. White	Died
Edward Hawke	1705	1734	1747[W]	1748	1757	1762	1781
George, Lord Rodney	1718	1742	1759	1762		1778	1792
H.R.H. Duke of York	1739	1759	1761	1762	1766		1767
Samuel Graves	1713	1744	1762	1770	1778	1782	1787
Richard, Earl Howe	1726	1746	1770	1776	1782	1787	1799
M. Lord Shuldham	1717	1746	1775[W]	1776	1787		1798
Sir Hugh Palliser	1722	1746	1775	1778	1787	1793	1796
Samuel Barrington	1729	1747	1778[W]	1779	1787	1794	1800
Marriot Arbuthnot	1711	1747	1778[W]	1779	1793		1794
Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport	1727	1756	1780[W]	1787	1794	1795	1814
Samuel Viscount Hood	1724	1756	1780	1787	1794	1799	1816
William Lord Hotham	1736	1757	1787[r]	1790		1799	1808
Sir Hyde Parker	1739	1763	1793[W]	1794	1799	1804	1807
George Murray		1768	1794[W]	1795	(Colonel of Marines 1793)		
Robert Linzee		1770	1794[W]	1795	1801 (Col. of Marines 1793)		
ANDREW SNAPE HAMOND	1738	1770					1828
Sir James Wallace	1731	1771	1794[W]	1795	1801	(Col. of Marines, 1793)	
John Colpoys	1742	1773	1794	1795	1801	1805	1821
George Elphinston, Viscount Keith	1746	1775	1794	1795	1801	1805	1823
Sir John Orde	1752	1778	1795[W]	1799	1805	1809	1824
Sir John Knight	1748	1781	1801	1805	1813	1819	1831
George Palmer	1755	1783	1804	1810	1819	1825	1834
Charles Tyler	1760	1790	1808	1813	1825	1830	1835
GRAHAM EDEN HAMOND	1779	1798	1825	1837	1847	1862*	1862

*Admiral of the Fleet

APPENDIX B (Continued)

Note:

The date of promotion to rear-admiral is that of the first promotion to that grade, and unless followed by a W, indicating Rear-Admiral of the White, or a R, indicating Rear-Admiral of the Red, shows the officer to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

Authority:

W. L. Clowes, The Royal Navy, vols. III, IV, & V.

APPENDIX C

ADMINISTRATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN

1753-1806

Unless otherwise noted the chief minister was the First Lord of the Treasury

1. Henry Pelham, 1746-1754
First Lord of the Treasury

Secretaries of State

Northern Dept.	Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle
Southern Dept.	Robert, Earl of Holderness
Treasurer of the Navy	Hon. H. B. Legge

2. Newcastle, 1754-1756

Secretaries of State

North	Robert, Earl of Holderness
South	Sir Thomas Robinson to Nov. 1754 Henry Fox
Treasurer of the Navy	Hon. George Grenville

3. Then William, Duke of Devonshire from November, 1756 until June, 1757, then briefly the Earl of Waldegrave, then

4. Newcastle, 1757-1762

Secretaries of State

North	Earl of Holderness to March, 1761 John, Earl of Bute

APPENDIX C (Continued)

4. (Continued)

Secretaries of State

South ..... William Pitt to October, 1761

Treasurer of the Navy ..... George Bubb Dodington to June 1762

5. Bute, 1762-1763

Secretaries of State

North ..... George Grenville to Oct., 1762

South ..... Earl of Egremont

Treasurer of the Navy ..... William, Viscount Barrington to June, 1762.
Richard, Viscount Howe, Captain, R. N.

6. Grenville, 1763-1765

Secretaries of State

North ..... John, Earl of Sandwich from Sept. 1763

South ..... Earl of Halifax

Treasurer of the Navy ..... Captain Richard Howe

7. Rockingham, 1765-1766

Secretaries of State

North ..... Duke of Grafton to May, 1766
H. S. Conway

South ..... H. S. Conway to May, 1766
Charles, Duke of Richmond

Treasurer of the Navy ..... Captain Richard Howe

APPENDIX C (Continued)

8. Chatham, 1766-1767

Secretaries of State

North	H. S. Conway
South	William, Earl of Shelburne
Treasurer of the Navy	Captain Richard Howe

9. Grafton, 1767-1770

Secretaries of State

North	Viscount Weymouth to Oct. 1768 Earl of Rochford
South	Earl of Shelburne to Oct. 1768 Viscount Weymouth
Treasurer of the Navy	Captain Richard Howe

10. North, 1770-1782

Secretaries of State

North	Earl of Rochford to December, 1770 Earl of Sandwich to January, 1771 Earl of Halifax to June, 1771 Earl of Suffolk to October, 1779 Viscount Stormont
South	Viscount Weymouth to December, 1770 Earl of Rochford to November, 1775 Viscount Weymouth to November, 1779 Earl of Hillsborough
Colonies	Earl of Hillsborough to August, 1772 Earl of Dartmouth to November, 1775 Lord George Germain to March, 1782 Welbore Ellis
Treasurer of the Navy	Sir Gilbert Elliot to 1777 Welbore Ellis to March, 1782

11. Rockingham, March, 1782

Secretaries of State

Foreign ..... Charles James Fox
Home ..... Earl of Shelburne

Treasurer of the Navy ..... Isaac Barre

12. Shelburne, July, 1782

Secretaries of State

Foreign ..... Lord Grantham
Home ..... Thomas Townshend

Treasurer of the Navy ..... Henry Dundas

13. Coalition, North and Fox, April, 1783.

First Lord of the Treasury .. Duke of Portland

Secretaries of State

Foreign ..... C. J. Fox
Home ..... Lord North

Treasurer of the Navy ..... Charles Townshend

14. Pitt, December, 1783-1801

Secretaries of State

Foreign ..... Marquis of Carmarthen (1789, Duke of Leeds) to June, 1791
William Lord Grenville
Home ..... Lord Sydney (T. Townshend) to June, 1789
W. W. Grenville to June, 1791
Henry Dundas to July, 1794
Duke of Portland
War ..... Henry Dundas, appointed July, 1794

14. (Continued)

Treasurer of the Navy	Henry Dundas to 1800 Dudley Rider to November, 1801
Ordnance	Duke of Richmond to February, 1795 Marquis Cornwallis

15. Addington, 1801-1804

Secretaries of State

Foreign	Lord Hawkesbury
Home	Duke of Portland to July, 1801 Lord Pelham to August, 1803 C. P. Yorke
Treasurer of the Navy	Charles Bragge to June, 1803 George Tierney

16. Pitt, 1804-1806

Secretaries of State

Foreign	Lord Harrowby to January, 1805 Lord Mulgrave
Home	Lord Hawkesbury
Treasurer of the Navy	George Canning to February, 1806

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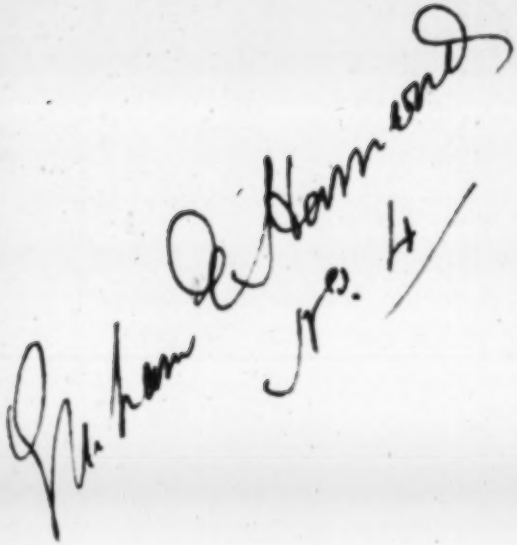


1775 — The Rebellion in America growing more serious, and all hopes of bringing them back to their allegiance, otherwise than by force of arms, being at an end; The Ministry in the beginning of July came to a resolution to send out a considerable reinforcement of Troops & Ships to Boston; In consequence of which I was appointed to command the

The Roebuck a new Ship lately built at Chatham carrying 44 Guns. I sailed from England about the Midle of September, and after stopping a few days at Guernsey, a Wreck at Fayal (one of the Western Islands, which in a great measure recovered me out of a dangerous Fever). I arrived at Halifax in Nova-Scotia, in order to Land Comodore Arbuthnot (who Commander in Chief in that Port and was appointed Commissioner of the Dock yard there) on the 31st of October. I shou'd from

From thence have proceeded immediately to Boston, but as it was well known that a large body of the Rebels had marched into Canada, and a probability that if they did not succeed there they might attempt to destroy the Dock yard at Halifax, Mr. Arbuthnot, who had also a Commission to command the Ships in the Harbour, thought proper to detain me, as well as the Somerset Captain Le Cras, for the

better

better security of the Place:
and it was certainly most necessary,
as at this time there were
not above 300 Land forces
in the Garrison.

The Commodore immediately set about fortifying his Dock yard, by raising a Scaffolding round the ~~Platform~~ wall, with a Platform for Musquetry, and erected Block-Houses at the angle's to carry 4 P^dr. ordnance; and tho' the Winter soon set in, & became very severe, yet

an

we constantly employd our Seamen in bringing the Guns from the decayed Battery's of the Town into the Dock Yard, to prevent the Enemy from using them against us.

1st Dec.r B.r General Massey arrived from Ireland with the 27th Reg.t and four days after a Packet arrived from England, with orders to Gov.r Legge to raise a Provincial Regim.t of 1000 Men, but unfortunately for His Majestys affairs, his Excellency had before quarrelled with

with every body in the Province
and rendered himself so very
obnoxious to the People, by
indiscriminately calling them
all Rebels, that a very little
time shewed that he would
not be able to raise a single
Company.

1776 I remained here untile the
beginning of Jan.y when
3.d Jan.y 76 the Centurion arrived and
brought me orders from
Admiral Graves to take
the Command of the Ships
Station'd at Virginia, and the
River Delaware; accordingly I

I left Halifax the 14th Jany.
and meeting with much bad
weather & almost continual
Westerly winds, I did not
reach the Capes of Virginia
untill the 9th Feby. where
I anchord in the Night, and
being joind the next
morning by the Kings Fish
Sloop Capt. Montagu
and the Otter Tender,
escorting another, laden
with Arms & ammunition
for Govr. Martin of N. Carolina, I weighd anchor

and

and turnd up to Hampton
Road. as soon as we drew near
to Point Comfort the Tender
stood close in and fired at least
20 shot at some Rebels that
were upon the Beach entrench
-ed up to their Chins, without
a possibility of striking them.
as I found this had been their
constant practice and they
were throwing their shot
away without doing the least
service, I gave orders that
they should not fire again
upon the Point, unless the
Rebels should offer to throw
up any work, or attempt

Feb.y 14. 15. to erect a Battery upon it.

(15). In the Morning the wind came fair and I dispatched the Otter Tender with her Convoy; and went up to Norfolk in the Kings-fisher Tender, where I found, H.M. Ships the Liverpool & Otter: The Town of Norfolk burnt, Portsmouth deserted, and Lord Dunmore (the Gov.) living on board a Merch.t Ship he had hired, two companies of the 14.th Reg.t in Transports, and about 50 Sail of Vessels containing some of the late Inhabitants of

of Norfolk, who rather chose
to suffer the inconveniences of
living on board miserable little
Vessels, with the remains of their
Property, than trust themselves
in the hands of the Rebels: who
were commanded by Gen.l Lee and who
gave warning to all the People
settled in the Counties of Pitt and
& Norfolk to quit their Habitat.ns
and go to the back Country,
intending to lay all waste
near the Sea Coast.
The Rebels having two Posts, guarded
by 7 or 800 Men within a few
Miles, the one at Kemps Landing
the other at the great Bridges.
Lord Dunmore had made an
unsuccessful attack on the latter

with his very small force, and was repulsed with a considerable loss, which in fact was the cause of the Troops being driven on bd. Ships, and the Town afterwards being destroyed: For when the Rebels took possession of that post they established a releaved their Guard opposite to the Liverpool. This caused Capt. Bellew to send a Message to the Rebel commanding Officer, telling him that he could by no means suffer such an indignity to his Majesty Colours, and that if any Men in Arms appeared in his sight he should certainly fire upon the Town. In a few days the same thing happening

yain

again he fired two or three shot at their Guard House, upon which Lord Dunmore's Ship fired also, and his Lordship sent his boats to set fire to some Store Houses that stood on the Wharfs, which was effected. The Next day a considerable body of the Rebels came down and set fire to the whole Town.

after this all communication with the Shore was cut off, and no water was to be had but under cover of the Ships Guns, and the boats were continually fired upon as they past up & down the River. The Liverpools Longboat was

was taken, as she was passing by Portsmouth, with a Midship= man & 8 Men in her. They found the boat adrift but kept the Men Poisoners.

12th D. Feb. In order to get water in safety & have a place to put the sick ashore, we found it absolutely necessary to fix upon some Piece of ground that could easyly be defended, and accordingly fixed upon a place where a considerable manufactory of Corn had been carried on. The Rebels had destroyd the Mills, but had left the ovens standing, and part of the dwelling House. I therefore gave Capt. Bellew

1776
Feb. 7. an Order to take the Liverpool & Otter Ships Company as low and throw up a line across the Peninsula and strengthen it with a Redoubt. This was accordingly done, and Lord D.r gave direction for every Person in the Fleet to assist, which they did for a day or two only, so that as the Peninsula was 285 Yards across, and the ditch was made 18 feet wide & 6 feet deep it took up a long time before it was finished, and this we guarded by the Marines of the Squadron * the part of the 14.th Regt. and a Company of Negroes. The Liverpool & Otter were

both very sickly, particularly the latter, owing as I apprehend to her being cramm'd so full of People, for she at this time victualld 180 ~~People~~ persons, including Ships Compy. Supernr. and those for Protection, yet she had only 20 Men capable of doing duty, exclusive of 25 in the Tender — They were also, as well as the Kings Tender, very short of Provisions: not having above 6 weeks Meat, and only a Month's bread: and ~~as~~ the Contractors had for some time past given notice they could no longer supply the Ships.

15th Thos. Lord Dunmore wrote me a letter,
saying, that there were a number
of People in the Neighbourhood
who would immediately declare
themselves Friends of Govern.t
as soon as ever they saw a
Protection for them, and that
he was well assured, that if
I brought my Ship up to Norfolk
and wore a distinguishing
Pendant for a time, it could
not fail of having a good effect.
In order therefore that every
thing should be tryed, I complyd
with his Lordships request, and
run the Ship up Elizabeth
River: but it did not produce
any of those good effects that

his Lordship seemd to promise himself.

17 Feb.y — The Mercury arrived in Hampton Road, having onboard Genl. Clinton, and two companys of light Infantry onboard two Transports under convoy. The General stay'd four or five days and then proceeded to his destination at Cape Fear, where he expected to meet 10 Regiments from England under L.d Cornwallis.

Lord Rawdon / Capt. Drummond / Mr. Ross — Aids de Camp

18 19. Held a Court Martial on the Boatswn. of the Rockbuck on a complaint of disobedience of orders & contempt to his Supr. Officer — which charge was proved and he was accordingly dismissed the Service.

20 Lord Dunmore having acquainted me

1776 Feb.y me that he had hired an armed Sloop into the Service, I took her alongside and fitted her for a Tender, and put into her Lieut.t Orde and 30 Men; called her the Lord Howe, and sent her with the Kings Fisher

Oct. 22. to cruize off the Delaware and to endeavor to get Pilots for the River.

Th. 26. Having rec.d intelligence that there were two armed Vessels fitted out by the Rebels at Baltimore, I determined to send the Otter in quest of them, but on Mustering her Ships Company found her so weak, that I was under the necessity of

Feb^{y} sending her a Lieut. and 30
Men — I also put a Mid^{n} & 10
Men on board an armed Sloop
to accompany her, and dispatched
them up the Chesapeak bay
in quest of them armed Vessels or
any others they might
meet with. They sailed the
27th — but the Sloop springing her
Mast returned the next day,
she was fitted with another
as soon as possible and she
sailed again to join the other
on the 1st March —
The Otter having left 30 Sick Men
behind her, the Liverpool having
likewise great many, and their being
several onboard the Roebuck

I

I thought it most advisable to give Mr. Fletcher, the Surgeon of the Rochuck, an order to fit up a sort of Hospital ashore, and receive the sick Men of the squadron in the usual manner of Sick Quarters.

The Liverpool had convoyd hither a Brig laden with ordnance Stores for Lord Dunmore. and had orders to proceed to Charles Town in So. Carolina as soon as the said Vessel should be delivered safe into his Lordships hands, but upon consideration of circumstances I determined to keep her on this Station. for the following reasons. Viz.

1st That the Syren a ship of the same rate was allready gone there

2d. That another had gone to Georgia from Boston.

3d. That the Liverpool was short of Provisions, and had no prospect of getting any there

4th. That she was so long legged that it was unsafe for her to attempt Charles Town Bar at this season of the year, as she drew within 6 Inches of the greatest depth on the bar. and lastly — That without her or some ship of that force I could not attempt to do any thing in the River Delaware. as I was particularly directed to do, when the season of the year would allow of my going there. I therefore gave Capt. Bellew orders to post himself under my command to place his ship so as best to protect our little Colony or Garrison (Lord Dunmore having placed my Brd there to command a Reg.t of Negros

Negroes) and to set about taking the Flower into Bisket, with all possible expedition.

1st Man of War

Finding it absolutely necessary that Admiral Shuldham, who now became the Commander in chief, should be acquainted with our situation in Canada, I determined to send one of the Prizes to Boston with Letters to him—

2d. Mr.

The Liverpool's Tender arrived with a Large Sloop laden with Salt belonging to Salem, which she had taken in the Bay, and all the People had left her.

— Six of the Liverpool's Marines deserted when upon Guard at the Lines.

The Rockingham a Merch.t Ship

bound to Glasgow came in from Nansemond River with 50 Passengers on board. I examined all the Letters, and suppressed all those written on Politicks on account of their being inflammatory. I also impressed 3 Men out of her, and supply'd their places by 3 New Englanders..

5th Mard. I moved the Ship down to Hampton Road. The same day the Kingsfisher & Roebucks Tender came in with two Prizes they had taken off the River Delaware. The one, an Irish Brig, having on Board a quantity of Gun Powder, Sulphur & Saltpetre, &c. they took in at Port L'Orient, and was carrying to supply the Rebels with at Philadelphia.

1776 March

The other, was a New England Schooner in Ballast.

The Tender had also taken a large Sloop laden with Rum Sugar &c from the West Indies, which she had Mr Rogers the Mate and five People on board, and which ~~was~~ is not yet arrived.

Having received intelligence from N°. Carolina that a french Vessel had arrived at Ocracock with Powder, I immediately sent an Officer & 20 Men on b°. one of the Pinges and arm'd her with Swivel Guns, and sent her in Comp°. with L^d Dunmore's Schooner to that place in quest of her. They sailed the 10th and in the Night the wind coming in the shore and blowing fresh, obliged a little

Sloop

that was in company (which was much damaged by falling foul of my Tender) to run ~~the~~ afhore in order to save the Mens lives. The next day the weather proving still unfavorable The Vessels returned without having attempted any thing; and the Men* of the Sloop that was cast away march'd thro' the Country and came to the Ships, having saved their arms & destroyd the Sloop.

* a Corporal & 9 men of the 14th Regt.

7th 9br. I dispatched the Kingsfisher to Boston with Letters to Admiral Shuldham representing the State of the Squadron and praying for a supply of Provisions & Stores, and a considerable reinforcement for the River Delaware, and acquainting him with my intentions of sailing thither in the Roebuck as soon as the other should arrive from her Cruize.

12 March. The Lord Howe Tender arrived from her cruize off the Delaware with a Sloop called the Maria belonging to the Jerseys, laden with Gun Powder, Bale Goods & Nails, which came from St Eustatia and was bound to Egg Harbour, and which she had taken off the mouth of Philadelphia river.

15th March, Having received information of several Vessels being up James River, and a quantity of Bullock & Provisions on a Farm that was intended for the Rebel army, I sent a party of Men on board one of the Ports, which joined another fitted by the Liverpool, having also on board a Party of the 14th Regt and dispatched them upon this Service. The wind & weather at first selling

off

off was very favorable, but
in the night it came on foggy
and they had the misfortune
to run aground just under
one of the Rebel guard Houses,
and being ebb tide, only one
of the Schooners could be got
off, which they effected under
the fire of the Enemy. They
however took out all the Guns
& ammunition & destroyed the
Vessel when they found they
could not get her off. They
afterwards proceeded up the
River, took a considerable Number
of Cattle, a Sloop & Two Schooners
laden with different sorts
of Merchandize, and returned
here the 18th.

20th: The Otter, which had now
been absent near a fortnight
longer than was either intended or

unexpected, arrived with the Liverpool Tender and Six sail of small Vessels, laden with Flour, Indian Corn, Tobacco Iron, Stone & diffr. sorts of Goods which they had taken in Chesepeak bay. A Privateer of 20 Guns attended by several small armed Vessels came out of Baltimore to attack her, and she happend to appear in sight when the other had unfortunately got aground, however notwithstanding this disadvantage she did not chuse to come within Gone Miles, and then hauld her wind & went back again. One of the Tenders had at this time boarded a large Merchant Ship laden with Tobacco & Flour, but was

obliged to quit her on the appearance of the Privateers as the Otter could not come to their Assistance. Sent all the Prizes to Norfolk —
The same day the Lord Howe Tender arrived with an empty Ship which she had taken off the Delaware.

Th 19th March I Received the [illegible]d account of the Sloop Prize which was mispeld — "That the Prisoners had risen upon "Mr Rogers & his Men, and run the "Vessel ashore at Accomack near "Cape Charles, where the Vessel was lost. and the People made Prisoners"

Th 20 March, — Having got my Men from the Otter I immediately prepared for Sailing to the Delaware, and wrote to Lord Dunmore to acquaint him of my Intention. His Lordship most strongly protested against my leaving Virginia, and set forth his

reasons at large in a letter:
which appeared to have so
much weight, that I consented to
leaving the Liverpool & other
untill the arrival of another
Ship; and accordingly sailed
the next day with the Roebuck
to the Delaware, and meeting
with a strong N W.t wind I did
not arrive at Horekill 'till 'ad
untile the 25.th

26 March Early the next morning a
Pilot boat came out of Lewis
Town in order to give intelli=
=gence at Philadelphia of
our arrival. I imediately
dispatched all the Boats
armd after her in hopes
of getting some Pilots for the
River. Soon after it fell
little wind, & the boats had
no difficulty in coming up with
her,

her, but unfortunately, a slight fogg came on at this same time, and the Man, who had deserted the Sloop and taken to their boat, could not be discovered. The same afternoon I put an officer & people aboard the Pilot boat & sent her with the Maria* in chase of two Vessels coming down the bay, which they took. one of them was of some consequence, as the was laden with Shot & Shells for a Battery erecting in North Carolina; and had onboard several articles of Merchandize very useful to the Ship's Comp.y The other Sloop was empty.

* a Prize Sloop I had with me

Saw a Vessel standing in from Sea. I sent Mr. Ball (the 3d Lt.) with the Pilot boat & Tender in quest of her, who boarded her, and drove another ashore. The former he put

under

the charge of the Tender, and he, in the Pilot boat, endeavord to make the best of his way to the Ship, but by some unfortunate accident (which is not yet known) he was driven ashore in the Night, and with 3 Seamen, made Prisoners of war by the Enemy.

28th Mar. — at this time I was so exceedingly ill, with an inflammation in my Bowells, that it was not possible for me to attend to the duty of the Ship. However I desired Mr. Leak the 1st Lt. would get the Ship under Sail and stand out to speak with Several Vessels that appeared in the Offing. He did so, and at 6 in the afternoon found the first to be Mr. Ball's Prize (a large New England Sloop in Ballast) and concluded the two others were the Lord Howe & Maria Tenders. He was however undeceived about 8 in the Evening, when the Main

joind us, and informed us the other was a Rebel armd Sloop of 10 Guns & about 70 Men which he had had a narrow escape in getting away from. we immediately made sail in quest of her, but a dark night coming on, saw nothing more of her. Returned back to Cape Henlopen.

Th 29. Took out of the Powder every thing that could be of use to the Ship, and then destroyed the Vessels.

Th 30. Sent a Flag of Truce ashore to Lewis Town, to endeavor to get Lt. Ball & his Men exchanged for other Prisoners, but could not get any satisfactory answer.

F 31 Mar: at day break in the morning saw a Brig under the Cape May Shore, got under way and came her chase, but being obliged to go to Leeward of Cape May Shoals

was not able to keep sight of her. We ran about 12 leagues in the direction we supposed her to have steered, and then not seeing her, or any other Sail, tacked & went back to Cape Henlopen.

Cruizing at the mouth of the Delaware

Saw several small Vessels and a Brig under Cape May shore, but on account of the Shoals could not get near them.

Took a small Sloop from North Carolina laden with Pitch Tar & Turpentine, which the Rebels are in great want of. The Tender took out the Turpentine and

6 April

destroyed the Vessel.

I saw a small schooner Vessel at day break that came as far as the Light House, and upon discovering the Ship, immediately made off to the Southw^d. I sent the Tender &

and two armd Boats after her,
who drove her ashore about
a league from Cape Henlopen, where
a large Party of Men immediately
assembled and kept a constant
Fire upon the Tender & Boats,
so that they were not able
to bring her off.

Sent the Barge after a
schooner under Cape May, which
on account of a strong breeze of
wind springing up they could not
overtake.

Saw a sail at 1 PM in the
offing which I immediately
gave chace to, which proved
to be my Tender the Lord Howe
from Virginia who brought
me intelligence of the Philadel-
phia Squadron having been at

at Providence & St Augustine
and that they were certainly
on their return to Philadelphia.
Lieut. Grant of the St. John Schooner
who escaped from them at
Providence, and brought off all
the Powder gives the follg acct
of their Force
2 Ships of 32 Guns
2 Brigs of 16 Guns
& 3 Sloops of 10 Guns
upon receipt of this Intelligence
I took care to place my Ship
in the best manner I could to
intercept them, by cruizing all
day within sight of the Light
House, and lying close to it in
the night: which I did without
seeing a single Vessel until
the 12th: when a Ship called the

chance, laden with Flax seed & Staves came down from Philadelphia. She did all she could to avoid me, by going out at the Cape May Channel where I could not follow her, but as soon as I saw she was fairly out, I gave chase to her and come up with her. The Master produced an English Register, declared that his Ship belong'd to a Merch.t in London, and that the Cargo was a remittance for the payment of debts, and shipp'd agreable to the act of Parliam.t of Dec.r last. I at first believed her to be so, but on examining the Papers of a Man who pretended to be only a Passenger, I found, what appeard to me sufficient Proof, that the Cargoe at least

was

was the Property of a Mr. Carson of Philadelphia, an Active Man in the Rebellion, who jointly with the before Mentioned Passenger, whose name is Graham, had very lately imported a considerable Cargoe of Powder & arms from Holland. I therefore took out all the Sailors (who were mostly English) and put on B. a few others and sent the Ship to be tryed in the Court of Admiralty at Halifax; and Graham to be delivered to the Commanding Officer. There were many letters found onboard, all those that treated on Politicks (every one of which breathed nothing but resistance) I thought proper to suppress, as well as all the News Papers; but those Letters which were

merely mercantile and contained Bills of Exchange (of which there was a Number to a very considerable amount) I forwarded by the Ship to Halifax.

anchor'd at the Back of the over falls, which I find to be a quick Sand. The Anchor buried itself in such a manner that when we came to leave it upon the Morning, the Cable broke and we lost the Anchor.

Finding my Tender the Lord Howe to be a very bad Sailer and having occasion for the Men at this Time onboard the Ship, I thought it most advisable to dismantle her, and the Maria being in the same situation and of very little use on that

account

I sent them with a few hands,
round to Virginia to be layed up.

th 16 apl. Endeavord to weigh the anchor I lost at the back of the overfalls, and had at first great hopes of succes, as we swept it with a 5 inch hawser and doubled it, but on heaving up & down found the anchor quite buried in the sand and the Hawser broke. Run back into the River and anchord betwn the Shears & the Brandewine Sands

Saw no Vessel untill the 22d when two Sloops & two schooners came down the Bay under an Easy sail and steard through the Cape May Channel: as soon as they were fairly clear, so as not to be able to return before I could get round the overfalls, I weighed & gave them chase.

They just right before the wind,
which was westerly, and after
running about 12 leagues I took
one of the schooners, which was
bound to St. Eustatia laden
with Flour & Hams, the other
escaped on account of the Night
coming on, and being little wind
I came up with them very slowly.
I had the mortification to learn
from my Prize that the two Sloops
were New York Pilot Boats, very
fast sailers, that had been fitted
at Philadelphia as Privateers,
and carryd 4 Carriage Guns &
30 Men each. as I could
not get within Six miles of
them before dark, I thought it
in vain to pursue them any
further, and made the best of my

way

way back to the Delaware,
which, on account of Calms &
contrary winds I did not reach
until the 24th in the afternoon,
when in standing in for the
Light House I discovered a
Vessel standing across the
East side of the overfalls to
the Southward; I gave her
chace and endeavoured to cut
her off from Cape Henlopen
channel which as soon as he
found was practicable, he tacked
and steered over the edge of the
Shoal into Cape May channel
where I could not follow him
on account of the shallowness
of the water. This was the more
distressing to me as I got near
enough to her to perceive and discern
it to be the armed Brig, out of

Philadelphia, which had lately taken the Liverpools Tender; and was one of many Instances I had had since I have been Sensible of the great misfortune that has attended my not having a small Sloop or two with me. which I have now been in daily expectation of for this month Past. from Head Quarters.

In the Night of the 23d I fell in with a Boy, who pretended to be a Slave of Jones belonging to St. Croix and was bound to Philadelphia for the Children & familys of Several English men that had settled upon that Island and were become Burghers of it. as I could by no means admit of

of this artifice to gain a
correspondance with the Rebels,
I at first determined to seize
the Vessel, which though under
Danish Colours, had not a single
foreigner onboard, but as she
was not of the least value I
rather chose to send her back
to the Island, to inform the
Governor, that no regard would
be payed to any of his passes,
let the pretence be what it
would, and if he persisted
in sending any more Vessels
to the Continent under the
authority of his Government,
it would be looked upon as a
breach of the neutrality.

I attempted again to weigh

The

anchor I had left at the back of the Overfalls, but without success: notwithstanding I swept it with the Stream Cable which broke as the Hauser had done before.

27th April Sent the Boats manned & armed in Chase of a Schooner which they came up with, and took. She came from St Eustatia and was bound to Philadelphia laden with Arms & Coarse Linnens for the Army. She had many Letters on board, and some of them contained Intelligence of some Consequence. The Vessel being an exceeding pretty one, and esteemed the best Sailer out of the Delaware I put on board a number of

of hands with Swivel Guns & other Arms, and used her as a Cruizer against the Rebels.

Th 28, Apl. Saw several Vessels and soon distinguished one of them to be a Rebel Privateer. I at first endeavord to decoy her near me, but finding the deception did not succeed I gave chase to her and soon got within Sand am Gun Shot of her, and could I have gone a mile further she could not have escaped. Unfortunately, however, this was not the case, as the Ship took the ground, and being near high water had not time to carry an Anchor out before the Tide had considerably

fallen. The Privateer, which
drew but little water, imediately
ran up to Philadelphia to
give an account of our situation.
and as I hourly expected to
see ~~Commodore~~ the Rebel Fleet under
Hopkins arrive, I conceived, if
I should not be able to get the
Ship off the next tide, the
Rebels would bring down the whole
force of the River to annoy me,
which might perhaps be joined by
~~if joined by~~ the Fleet
~~might have been of bad~~
and become very troublesome
~~consequence~~ to us, I therefore dispatched
my Pilot boat to Virginia, and
gave orders to Capt. Bellew in
the Liverpool to join me
imediately. as it happened,
there was no occasion for her

for

for the next tide being considerably higher, the Ship got off with great ease, and without the smallest damage; as she heeld very little and the tide did not ebb above 6 feet, at most. This accident happend upon the Northern flats about 20 Miles up the River.

Th 30 apl. Got under way in the night, and at day break saw a Vessel, which I chased & drove ashore, and the first owning very high she beat to pieces. I then stood after another Vessel, but the fogg clearing up about 10 oclock

I discovered a Ship to leeward which I ran down to, and found her to be the Dowey Capt.ⁿ Montague with dispatches for me from the Admiral.

1st May. ~~The next day the Liverpool joined me from Virginia~~ when I left off chacing the Vessel I was pursuing at the time I saw the Dowey, She began to conclude that we were the Continental ~~Philadelphian~~ Squadron, and of course her Friends; and when I made a signal to speak with My Tender and call in all Cruizers, She bore away and came to Anchor with us in Hampton road, where I sent a boat onboard her & took possession of her. She was

a

a Sloop from Bermuda, bound to Philadelphia, laden with Salt Molasses & Rum.

as she was well fitted and promised to be a fast Sailer, I put a Midshipman & 15 Men on board her, and armed her with 4 three pounders, and 4 Swivels, and sent her out on a Cruize with the Ranger Pilot boat. They returned in the morning and w[ith] a schooner they had taken, from Philadelphia bound to the West-Indies, laden with Flour & Staves.

2 May. The same Morning the Liverpool joined me. and I sent the Towey (who wanted much refitting) to supply her place at Virginia.

5th May as I now began to grow short of water, and had lightend the Ship to as easy a draught of water as I could, which was abt. 18. F. 6. I took the Liverpool with me & sailed up the River in order to fill my empty casks, and reconnoitre the enemy's force of the River. we arrived off of Wilmington the 7th where we drove a Vessel ashore, and not being able to get her off proceeded to unload her of her cargoe which 8th was bread & flour. The next day about 1 in the afternoon, I perceived the armd craft of the River coming down, before the wind, with an appearance of attacking us. Their Fleet con=

1776
8 May { consisted of 13 Row Galleys, each carrying one Gun from 32 Pounders to 18 Pdrs a Floating Battery of 10 Eighteen Pdrs and a Sloop fitted as a fire Ship. We met them under sail as the Tide ran too rapid to ride with a spring upon the Cable, and lay under the disadvantage of being obliged to engage them at the distance they chose to fix on, which was scarcely within point blank shot: and being such low objects on the water, it was with some difficulty that we could strike them, so that we fired upon them near two hours

before

before they thought proper
to retire, and row off.
Unfortunately, at this Juncture
the Roebuck grounded, and
being high water, could not
be got off 'till 4 the next morng.
but as it was foggy mid. the
ship did not receive the least
damage.

It was then so thick a
fogg that nothing could be
discerned 'till about 8 o'clock
when it cleard, and we perceived
the Galleys at Anethen about
3 Miles above us. The wind
then had changed and now
blew up the River, so that we
pursued them immediately with
all our sail, and they as

1776 May 9. as industriously plyed their oars & sails to avoid us. This chace lasted only for abt two hours, when it fell so little wind that we were not able to stem the ebb tide, and not having 6 Inches water more than the Ship drew in the best of the Channel (which was not a quarter of a mile wide) I was under the necessity of anchoring.

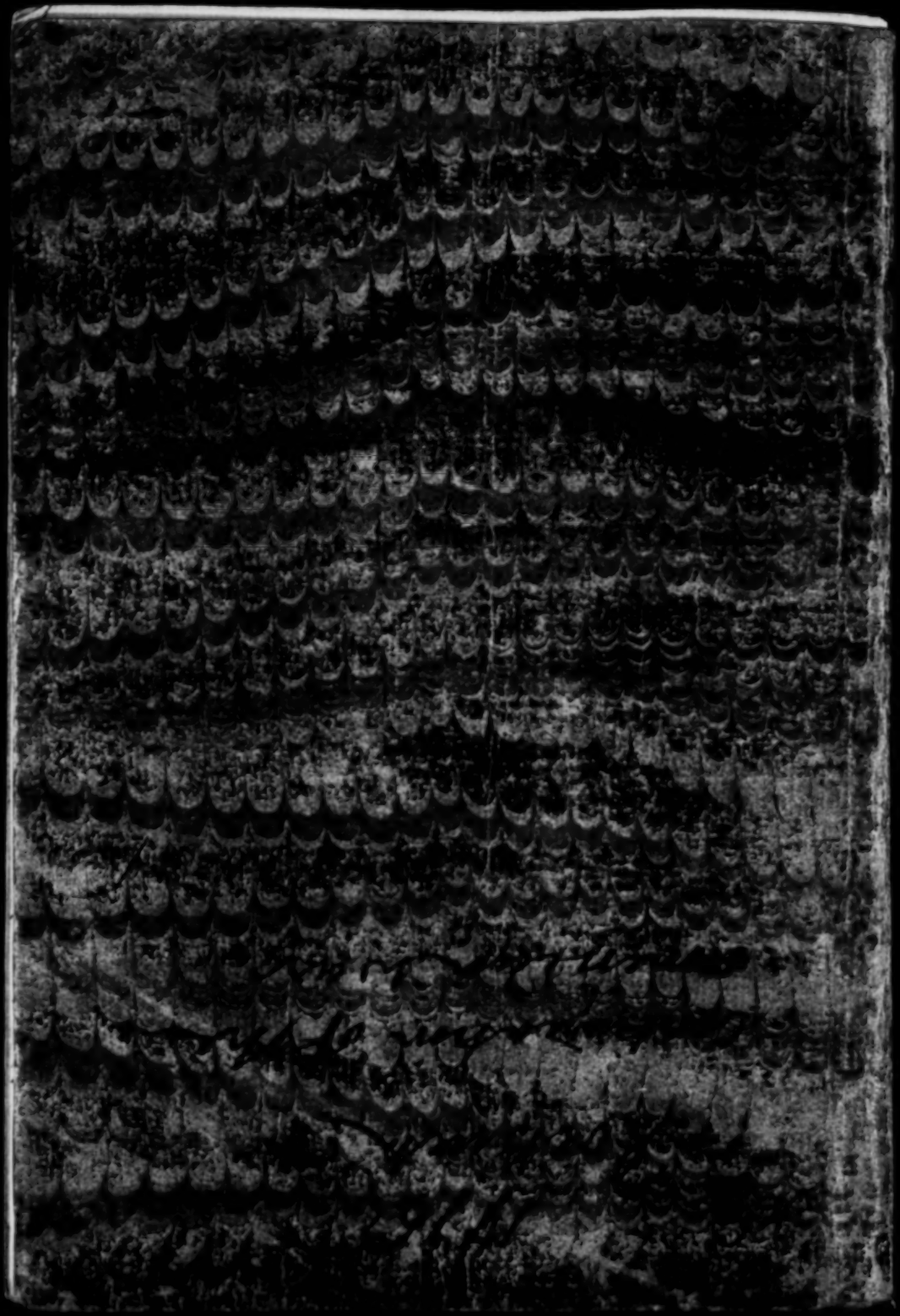
The Gallies rowed to a point of land on the western shore abt 4 Miles above us, and anchored also.

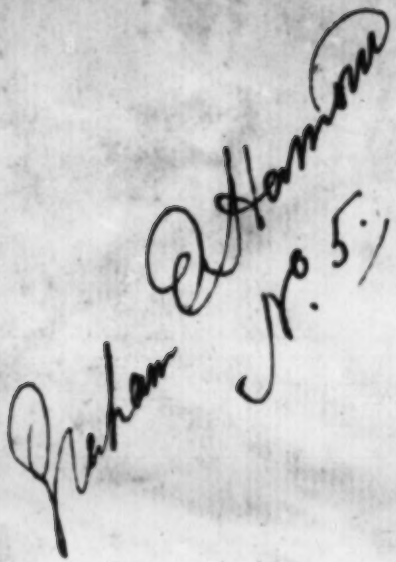
When I found there was no prospect of being able to get near them, and that they intended

to retire up the River as I advanced,
and not having a force with me
sufficient to authorize me
to attempt to force the fortified
pass of the River, I consulted with Captain
Bellew, who agreed with me in
opinion, that it would answer
no good purpose to go further
up the River, which every mile
made more intricate, but that
it was best to try if we could
draw the Galleys down to a
wider part of the river, where
we should be in less danger of
getting aground, and where we
could near them, and have
a better chance of destroying
them. accordingly when the

ebb tide made, about 5 in the afternoon, we got under way and turned down under an easy sail. The Galleys, with their former attendants, encreased by several large Canoes, with each a cannon mounted in the Bow, immediately followed us, and kept up a smart fire, but cautiously remained at their usual distance. This gave me great hopes, I should be able to draw them into a wide part of the River, but about 10 at night they thought proper to stop near New Castle; upon which I immediately dropped anchor, flattering myself they remained there, either on account

of





1776

May 9th River Delaware } On account of the darkness of the night, or that some of them were disabled; the latter of which appeard to be the case, as the next morning we saw only 11 Sail, one of which had lost her Mast.

We lay here & above Reedy Island for three days, when finding there was no prospect of drawing them down, and having filled our water, and fully executed all I had in view in going up the river, we weighed anchor in order to drop down to the Capes, where we arrived the 15th.

It is, however, a matter of some satisfaction, that the Enemy should have fired away so much

* Enemys Gallies

must Powder & Shot, to so little purpose; For at a moderate computation they could not have fired in the 2 days, less than Seven Tuns of Powder, which they obtained with infinite difficulty.

Neither Ship received any damage, the least material: some shot holes thro' the Sails, and a few in the Hull, being the chief of what they sustained — onboard the Liverpool no Person was in the least hurt, and the Roebuck had only one man killed and another wounded.

During the Action, a Boy that was in company, onboard which I had sent a few empty Casks, by way of clearing the Ship, took an opportunity of deserting to the Enemy: She was quite light, and of little value.

Being

Being now confirmed in my opinion that nothing could be done in the River Delaware without more Ships, a Bomb Vessel, and a body of Troops to act with them, I immediately turned my thoughts towards the expedition going on to the Southw.d and accordingly took the resolution, of leaving the Liverpool to cruize off the Capes to intercept the Trade of Philadelphia, and to proceed with the Roebuck to join Sir Peter Parker.

16th May. I Parted company with the Liverpool and stood to the Southward. The same Evening I fell in with the Pilot boat from Virginia, by which

I

1776
May 16 } I received letters from Lord-
Dunmore acquainting me, of his
having received certain intelligence
that the Rebels intended attacking
the lines at Norfolk; that they
were bringing down Cannon, and
preparing fire-rafts to destroy the
Fleet, and assembling in large bodies
in the neighbourhood; therefore
most earnestly entreated me
to return to his assistance. This
caused me to alter my course
for Virginia, flattering myself
however that his Lordships
apprehensions might be prema-
ture.

17. For my way, I sent two
Tenders to Chincoteague Island,
and took off a dozen Bullocks,
and some other Stock for the Ships Company.

to
19: When I came to Norfolk, I found
Lord Dunmore's expectations of
an attack, not the least abated:
having certain intelligence that
they waited only for Cannon from
Williamsburg, which they expected
would arrive in two days. at
this time the Small Pox made
its appearance among the
Black Troops, and in order to
save them, the Surgeons recom-
-mended that the whole should
be inoculated. This was likely
to be a great reduction of our
force; Therefore on considering
every circumstance, we thought
it most advisable to move
the Fleet immediately; for had
we

1776
May 20th } we waited untill the Enemy had planted Cannon at certain places on the River side (which is not ½ a mile wide) it would scarce have been possible to have got the Vessels down the River, and they must have fallen into the hands of the Rebels, and many of them had very valuable cargoes on board.

22d. accordingly on the 22d. at day break in the Morning the Troops embarked & evacuated the ~~from~~ the entrenchment, and embarked on board the Transports, and Orders were given for the Vessels to move down to Hampton Road; but as most of them were without Seamen this could only be done by

a gentle

assistance from the Kings Ships:
It therefore became a matter an arduous
undertaking, and it was three
days before they could all get
down to the road, where they
amounted to upwards of 90 Sail.

Th
26. Gwins Island, at the mouth of
Pianketank River, in Chesepeak bay,
being reported to be inhabited by
many Friends of Government, that
it formed an excellent Harbour,
had plenty of fresh water on it, and
could easyly be defended from
the Enemy, was fixed upon as
the most proper place to repair
to; accordingly, as soon as the wind
became favorable which was
on the 26th, we left Hampton Road
and arrived the next afternoon
at the place of our destination.

with

1776
May } with the whole Fleet except 3 or 4
small ones, which the Otter (who
brought up the Rear) was obliged
to destroy for want of materials
to navigate them.

The 27: The next morning, at day break
we landed & took possession of the
Island, with our whole force, which,
with the Mariner of the Squadron,
did not amount to more than
200 effective Men; so great had
been the mortality among the
Negroes while at Tuckers Mills,
However, we met with no oppos-
ition, and after marching quite
thro' the Island, returned to the
point nearest to the main land,
(where it is not above 200 yards
across) encamped the Troops, and
began to erect a Fort against the
Enemy, who began to gather from
all quarters: and fired with musquet

By

1776
May { manoeuvring upon the People at work
but without doing us the least
mischief: Being covered by the
Towey's Guns on one side, and
by two small Tenders (which
I had sent into the Haven) on
the other. The Otter & her Tender
immediately returned to cruize
off the Capes, to prevent any
of the Rebels Vessels from getting
in or out, and to give notice
to Vessels coming to us of our
removal from Norfolk.

31st The Liverpool sent in a Spanish
Snow which he had met with
in Delaware Bay going to Phila.
with 13. Thousand hard Dollars
on board which they had brought
from the Havana.

1st June. The Otter came up to escort

a

1776
June 1st { a Brig, laden with Provisions from Antigua for the use of the Army, and sailed back to her station the next day.

Gov.r Eden of Maryland sent his Secretary with a letter to me, to inform me that he could stay no longer at Annapolis with any degree of Safety to himself, and desired me to send one of the Ships of Wars to receive him onboard, which I sent him word I should do, when either of them could be spared.

8th. a Schooner arrived from North-Carolina, which brought an acc.t that Sir Peter Parker & Gen.l Clinton had left Cape Fear the 31st of last month, and were sailed to the South (as was supposed) to attack Charles Town; and a Passenger onboard informed me that he had left St. Augustine abt. a fortnight ago, and that the Governor Robertson in the greatest Distress

imaginable for want of Provisions.
I therefore immediately dispatched
Th 10. my Tender with a supply of Flour
& Beef, and every thing that
could be collected in the Fleet
for the relief of the Garison; by
which opportunity I wrote
to Sr Peter and the General to ac-
quaint them of our situation*
During all this time the Troops
of Marines were constantly
employed, as well as the People
capable of working in the Fleet,
in fortifying the Island. a Fort
was erected at each end, and
a line thrown up a Cross the
Narrows Point, forming it into
a kind of redoubt. Frequent
firings were held on both sides
but without any mischief on
our parts. the Enemy did not

* and in the strongest terms recommend the Island & Harbour to their attention as a Port proper to be kept for receiving the army & Fleets shattered in the Storms.

Escape

Escape quite so well: but we were never able to get any certain account of their loss.

The Negro Troops, which had been inoculated before they left Norfolk, got thro' the disorder with great success, but the Fever which had been so fatal to them there, followed them also to the Island; so that notwithstanding the Corps was recruited with six or eight fresh men every day, yet the mortality among them was so great, that they did not now amount to above 150 effective men. The detachment of the 14th Regt. also became very weak, and the few Men of the new raised Corps were all down with the small Pox: so that we were still under the

the necessity of keeping the Marines
~~like~~ on shore to do the common
duty. This appeared to be the
more necessary, as several
deserters ~~with~~ escaped in from the Enemy all
agreed that they meant to
attack us as soon as their Cannon
were mounted, and that they
worked day & night to finish
a Battery they were erecting
opposite to our Fort; all then
that could be done, in this situation
untill the Island was put in a
better state of defence was to harass
the Enemy with the Tenders, which
I kept constantly moving about,
and making descents upon diff=
=erent parts of the Coast in order
to supply the Island with stock,
which they did to great advantage,
& took several of the Enemys Vessels.

Gov^r Eden being under great
apprehensions that the Committee of
Safety at Annapolis might change
their mind, and not permit him
to leave the Province, unless the Ship
went up immediately for him, I dispat-
=patched the Fowey upon that service,
and by Calms & contrary winds she
did not join us at Gwins Is. land
until the 30th Inst., when she return'd
with the Governor, and several Gentlem.
desirous of getting a passage to England.
— During the time of her absence I had
several People come on board from
the Eastern Shore of Maryland, to
inform me that since the declaration
of the Colonies for Independance, a
great majority of the People there,
and in the lower Counties of the
Delaware, had come to the resolution
to take up Arms in favor of Govern.t
I thought it material to encourage
this

loyal
this Spirit of the People, but at the
same time saw the necessity of their
being quiet, untill they should be
certain of their Numbers, and that
every Man should be well supplied
with ammunition. For this purpose
I dispatched Captain Montagu
to the Tangier Sound to deal
out ammunition to some particular
Persons appointed to receive it.

Th 24. The Lively arrived from Halifax
& New york with a Victualer
under her convoy, and brought
me dispatches from the Admiral,
and then proceeded directly for
South Carolina.

My Pilot boat returned from
the Delaware which brought me
a letter from Capt. Hudson of the
Orpheus, acquainting me that he
had

1776
June

had sent the Liverpool to New York
for Provisions, and that he would
remain with the Kings Tender at
the Mouth of the Delaware untill
I came to relieve him; which I de-
=termined to do at all events as soon
as the Towey returned from the
Eastern Shore.

July 8 The Springs on the Island dried
up so much on account of the long
dryness of the season that water became
very difficult to be got near the Sea shore, but by the
time the Towey joined us, which
was on the The Ships Casks were
nearly full—Captain Montagu
performed this service with great
judgment & prudence, and brought
with him upwards of 100 Volunteers
for the Army, and several small
Vessels laden with Cattle.

9 The next day, when I was
preparing to sail, an event happened
which obliged me to alter my design.

This was two Batterys of heavy Cannon that the Enemy opened upon the Fleet, and directed their Fire joint=ly upon Lord Dunmore's Ship, who had a day or two before taken the Otters station to give the Latter an Opertunity of heaving & cleaning her bottom. The Dunmore returned the Fire, but finding that her small Guns, had no effect upon either of the Batterys, and that every shot from the Enemy struck the Ship she cut her Cable, and being Calm, towed off out of reach of the Guns; which she effected with little damage to the Ship, and the loss of one man killed, and another wounded. all the small Vessels that lay within reach of

of the Shot did the same. The
Enemy then fired upon the
Tenders in the Haven which were
obliged to row ashore upon the
Island. They were set on fire, and
one of them was entirely consumed,
but the Enemy boarded the other
with a number of armed Boats
time enough to extinguish the
fire; so that she fell into their hands,
but with 2 cannon only, the rest
having been thrown over board.
From the preparations of the
Rebels it was now apprehended
that an attack was to be made
upon the Island, and being too weak
to resist any considerable force
(the Army being reduced by the small
Pox and an epidemic Fever) my
Lord Dunmore & the Land Officers were
of opinion that their Post on the
Island was no longer tenable, and
accordingly determined on evacuating
it

it immediately: which was effected in the course of the ensuing night & the next morning, leaving behind one Canaon, which was spiked up. — Notwithstanding the Merchants & other inhabitants onboard the different Vessels, had been frequently ordered to keep their Ships in constant readyness for moving whenever there should be occasion, it is impossible to describe the distress & confusion that this floating Town was thrown into, upon this sudden order for quitting the Island, and preparing to sail: most of them were entirely without fresh water, and this the Men of war were under the necessity of supplying them with; as well as Seamen to Navigate them.

I had frequently recommended it to Lord Dunmore in the strongest

terms

terms, to use his endeavours to persuade the People that had put themselves under his protection, to sail with their Vessels to some place of Security, on account of the great inconveniency that arose to his Majesty's Service by keeping two Ships allways to guard them, but on this occasion I took upon me to assure his Lordship that I had come to a resolution to get rid of every Vessel except the Transports and that I should order one of the Ships to convoy them to St. Augustine; accordingly orders were sent to them for that purpose, but as many of them were quite worm eaten, others without Sails &

Oppy

July

Rigging sufficient to navigate them, and the whole without water, it was absolutely necessary, that we should proceed to some place where the latter could be easily obtained and where the state of each Vessel could be examined into, and the Family taken out of those ... found defective, and distributed on board the others.

The nearest place, likely to answer these purposes, was St George's Island in the River Potowmack, which we directed our Course the next day; but in our way thither was so roughly handled by a Gale of wind at N.W. which took us at the Mouth of the River, that several of the small

11th

July
14

Small Vessels were driven on
Shore, many shattered, in their
Sails & Rigging and the greatest
part lost their Anchors & Boats.
This Misfortune to a Fleet ill
provided before, was not to be
remedied, so that many Vessels
were condemned to be destroyed in
consequence of it.

George's Island is about 2½ miles
long, has an excellent Harbour
on the East side of it and a small
Haven on the North, sufficient to
open at one end for small
Vessels to turn in to it, but at
the other is not above 100 Yards
wide nor has above 3 or 4 feet
water. Lord Dunmore landed
his Troops upon it the day after
our Arrival, and searched
every where for fresh Water, but

on

July

account of the dryness of the season, very little prospect appeared of being able to supply the Fleet with a sufficient quantity for their voyage from thence. I therefore ordered the different Vessels to send their empty Casks onboard two of the Transports carrying the detachment of the 14th. Regt. & a part of the Queens; and with them, accompanied by Lord Dunmore in his own Ship, we sailed up the Potomack in order to fill the empty casks with fresh water, and at the same time harass & annoy the Enemy by landing at different places. The Fowey remained with the rest of the Fleet and the Otter was sent to

20 h

to escape in the Bay.

While the Fleet lay at Gwins Island the Carpenters had been employed in fitting up one of the Flats, which we found there, to carry a Cannon, and to Row with 14 Oars: I put a Six pounder into it, and kept it constantly employed in the little creeks & Bays about George's P.; by being in a great measure covered over, the People were quick sheltered, could go close to the shore with safety, and did by that means do great mischief among the Enemy.

On our Expedition up the River we kept the shores on both sides in continual alarms, but we saw no considerable body of the Enemy's Troops, while we

July
23 we arrived into Fresh water,
when a large Number assembled
at the House of a Mr. Bryant
on the Virginia side, and seemed
to bid us defiance; However
we landed about 100 Men
at noon day, under cover
of a Tender & The Row Galley,
beat the Enemy off, which
were double that number,
and very advantageously posted
and set fire to the House and
all the buildings: when we
returned to our ships without
the loss of a single man and
only one Officer & 5 Men wounded

24 The water being filled, and the
wind coming fair we moved

The

The Ships a few Leagues down the River, with an intention of landing in the Morning at day break at a Mr. Meres's House on the Virginia Shore, which is a grand House for the Rebels, but as it came to blow hard, and the wind down the River we rather chose to pursue our way to the Fleet. after that time the Ships got so often a ground that the People were too much fatigued to attempt any operation on shore, and so joind the Fleet at St. George's Island on the 29th. July.

29th July The Defence a Rebel Privateer of 20 Guns belonging to Maryland, hearing of the Fleet's being left at George's Island under the Protection of the Fowey only, came

came with 2 Tenders up the River to attack them, and a Battery from St. Marys was opened to them as soon as she appeared in sight. The Rebel Vessels return frustrated their schemes, and the Rebel Vessels returned to their rendezvous at Baltimore.

In about three days the Fleet had taken on board their water from the Transports, when after destroying about 20 sail of Vessels that could not be navigated we got under way, proceeded down the Chesapeak Bay, and arrived at the Capes the 4th Augt.

The next day the Otter sailed and convoyed about 50 sail of Vessels to St. Augustine & Bermudas.

6th Augt. The Powey sailed with about

about 7 Sail of Vessels bound
to Eng.d and, onboard one of which
was Gov.r Eden, when after
seeing them 20 Leag.s from the
Coast, she was ordered to return
& cruize off the Capes of Virginia.

a violent bilious intermitting
fever, together with a most
inveterate scurvy had for these
two months past raged with gr.t
violence both in the men of
war & Transports, and was so
mortal that the Rockbuck
had lost 30 of her best Seamen,
and had 76 on the Surgeons
sick list. The Fowey had
35 Men sick, and Lord Dunmore's
army was reduced to about
150 Rank & File, one third of
which was incapable of duty.
I therefore thought it necessary

necessary to consult with
his Lordship on the measures
the most proper to pursue in
our weak situation, the
result of which was that
we should make the best of
our way to New York for
the following reasons.

1st. The total impracticability of
rendering his Majesty any
services by remaining, with
the very few men which had left
capable of doing
duty.

2d The impossibility of landing
even to water the Ships, (The Springs
on the Islands being all dried)
up.

3d The necessity of the Admiral
& General's being acquainted
with

with our retreation as soon
as possible, to prevent the
disgrace his Majestys Troops
might suffer when their
extream weakness became
known to the Enemy.

Th. 5: Aug.st Accordingly we retreat
from the Capes the 5th day Aug.t
with the Dunmore, & Sail of
Transports, two Vessels
laden with Rum Sugars
& dry goods, and 5 small
Tenders & Pilot boats, and
Th 13: arrived off of Sandy Hook
the 13th Aug.t where we joind
at New york Sir Peter Parker from the
Leeward, and sailed the 14th to New York in Comp.y

In our way we saw several
Rebel Privateers; two of which we
chased, but to prevent losing
Company with the Convoy was
obliged to leave them.

1776 Thus ended my Command to the Southward.

14th Augst — In New york Harbour, I found my Lord Howe, with his Flag onboard the Eagle, and Should have in the Chatham, Commodore Hotham in the Preston, with about 25 Sail of Men of war. They were Laying off Staten Island, on which General Howe's Army (consisting of 24 thousand Men) were encamped; The Transports, which could not be less than 300 Sail, covered a Space of at least 3 Miles; and as the Island is here the Camp was, is sloping ground down to the water, the whole together exhibited, by much, the finest Scene I ever saw. Lord Howe had arrived abt three weeks before this, but as yet

Yet no operations had been
commenced against Newyork:
owing as was said to having waited
for the arrival of the reinforcem.ts
from England, which came in only
a few days before, under the
command of Com.r Hotham, after
a most tedious & tiresome passage
of 14 weeks. Lord Howe however
had written to General Washington
to inform him of the Powers that
were lodged in him, & his Brother
the General, of treating with the
Colonies, granting pardons &c. The
first letter, as it was directed
only to George Washington Esq.r
&c &c &c he sent back unopened:
saying he could receive no
letter that was not directed
to

to him by the Title of General
Washington Commander in Chief
of the American Forces, which
my Lord Howe thought proper
to comply with, and his first and
Letter was received, as to his
answer, saying he should lose
no time in laying the whole
before the Congress, then sitting
at Philadelphia. this Lordship
had also wrote to Doctor Franklyn,
whose answer breathed nothing
but a firm resolution of the
whole Colonies to throw off
the Government of Great Britain.
So that whatever hopes might
have been conceived of settling
the dispute by negociation, it
now appeared very certain that
they were public to negatory.

In 19 days the Rhania & Rose which had been sent up the North River 5 weeks before, where they had been attacked by Galleys & Fireships came down this Morns. passing through the fire of the Batterys on both sides without either receiving any damage

1776

22 Augt. I Received orders from the Admiral to hold the Ships in readyness for covering the descent of the Troops on Long Island: In the Evening the Phoenix, Grey hound & Rose came down & anchored near us, and at day break they shifted & warped close to the Shore of Gravesend Bay. Soon after the Admiral came down, hoisted his Flag on board the Phoenix and made the Signal for the Troops to land. By 8 o'clock the Flat bottomd Boats appeared in three Divisions, and proceeded to the Shore in great order, where they landed without the least opposition; and as the Transports with the remainder of the Troops that were to be landed, followed the Boats immediately, & anchored very

very near the beach, by estimation
there was at least 15. Thousand
Men, with a large train of
artillery, in less than
an hours time, the first landing
being about six Thousand Men.
The Boats were commanded
by Commodore Hotham, assisted
by seven or eight Captains and
a Number of Lieutenants, each
boat carrying a Midshipman,
a Coxswain & 10 Rowers.

after the Troops were landed
the admiral struck his Flag on
board the Phaeton, and left
Com.r Hotham with the Command
of that Division of Transports, and
to give the necessary orders for
the Baggage & Horses of the Army
to be sent over as soon as possible

22. Aug. Until this day we had
lain without the Narrows, now
the Troops were landed, I moved
the Ship near the Admiral's
off the watering place at Staten
Island; where I erected Tents
with my Sails for the Sick Men
and sent upwards of Sixty on
Shore, ill with fevers & scurvy.
and borrowed 30 Seamen from the
Bristol to replace them.

25. General De Heyster with 5 Thousand
Hessians crossed over to Long Island
and joined the army, which was
encamped round Flatbush.
All that part of Long Island
that lays opposite to New York is
high land and commands the
Town. The Rebels had therefore
fortified it in the best manner
they were able, and had thrown
up a chain of Redouts & Lines to

oppose the British Troops, which they expected would immediately attack them. Fortunately however this was not the case: for General Howe, remaining quiet in his camp at Flat Bush four days, gave the Rebels such spirits, that they determined to take the Field the moment they should hear the Army was in motion.

From our Camp to the Rebels was about 7 Miles. Our Troops began their March at Midnight and came on with so much silence that at day break they were discovered on the Hills before the Rebels had heard of their moving. They however made the best disposition of their Forces they could, and for some time shewed a resolution of making a Stand;

27 Aug.

particularly on their right wing which was commanded by Lord Sterling and extended down to the water. where on account of having a considerable advantage of Ground he prevented General Grant & Boyd from advancing until near 10 oClock, by which time the right of our army had got so much behind the left of theirs, that they found themselves in danger of being surrounded, and having suffered considerably in their Center during the Action, they immediately gave way, and made a precipitate retreat into their works.

The Fleet assisted in this Operation by 5 Ships getting under way and making an appearance of attacking the Forts, on which I led with

the Rockbuck, and exchanged
a few shot with the Fort at Red
Hook, but it was situated too high
for our Guns to do it any damage
and nothing being intended more
than to make a Diversion, to keep
the Enemy in their Forts, I hauld
off again, and upon the defeat of
the Rebels after the Ships anchored
by Signal from the Admiral.

In this action the Rebels lost
in killed wounded & taken Prisoners
upwards of 3 thousand Men: among
the latter were L.d Sterling & M.r Sullivan
two of their Generals; who were
afterwards exchanged, for Gen.l
Prescot (who the Rebels had taken
in Canada) and for M.r Brown
Governor of the Bahama Islands
that had been taken by Hopkin's
Squadron. The English army had
about 50 killed & 300 wounded,
mostly very slightly and by the

the accident of mistaking a Party of the Rebels (who were dressed in Blue) for Hessians, an Officer & part of a company of Marine Granadiers fell into the Rebels hands.

after this success Genl Howe lost no time in erecting Batterys against the Rebel works, but on news being brought to the Rebel army, that several Men of war had arrived near Hell-Gate, thro' the sound, they saved him the trouble of using them; for on the apprehension of being surrounded, a Panick seized them, and in the night of the 29th they, to a man, deserted all their works on Long Island, and crossed over in Boats to the Town; leaving all their Cannon and a great quantity of Provision behind them.

They still however kept possession

29th Augt. of Governors Island, where they had two Regiments in Garrison. In the afternoon the General sent to them to surrender, but on their refusal, he immediately opened a Battery against it at Brookland, and two of the Rockets Guns being by this time placed upon Red Hook, together with the fire from her Lower Deck, they were soon obliged to quit the Island, leaving every thing behind them. The Ships immediately moved up, but as night was now come on, and it was uncertain if the Fort was entirely abandoned, we neglected taking possession of it. In the Night the Rebels returned with a number of Boats, and carried off their Tents Baggage & Provisions; and in the Course of two days that

that we lay abreast of it, we
felt the effect of their retreat, as
they fired through the Ship, and
obliged us to shift our birth: but
2d Sep.r 2 the next day two Companies of
Hessians were sent to take
possession of it.
3d 3. all the Men of War, except
the Vice admiral & Centurion
(that were left at Staten Island)
moved up within a Mile of
the Town, and the Transports
anchored from Red Hook to yellow
Hook, on the Long Island side. The
Army extended themselves on the
Island, and after some days erected
Batterys against the Rebels works
at Waltons Point near Hell Gate,
and the General fixed his head
Quarters at Newtown. Flat Boats
were sent to the Frigates in the
Sound, and others were sent up
Newtown Creek, so that the Enemy
could not guess where the descent

of the Troops would be made next. During this time most of the Inhabitants of Long Island came in & took the Oath of allegiance, and as it is a most delightful Country abounding with every necessary & convenience of life, and the weather remarkably fine, both Army & Navy were well supplied with every thing they could desire.

As soon as the Rebels had quitted Long Island, which they had spent so much time to fortify, General Washington, who was at the Head of their Army, and a Man tho' of dull parts, yet not without some military knowledge conceived the Town to be no longer tenable, and immediately determined on removing out of it all the Military Stores, and every thing that could be carried away,

and took the resolution of making
his stand at the North End of
New york Island, where the ground
is by nature remarkably strong,
and where already they had a
very considerable Fortification
by the Name of Fort Washington.
That this was their intention was
easy to be perceived, by what was
seen to be going on: and it was
imagined, that General Howe was
much divided whether he should
land his army upon the Main in
West Chester, and come at the
back of the Rebels, and cut off
their supplys from the Country;
or whether he should first secure
the Town, which on account of
the winter, and for many very
obvious reasons was an object
of great consequence. He &
my Lord Howe both thought so,
and

and in a short time resolved upon the latter: But as General Sullivan had prevailed upon them to grant him his Parole of Honor to go to the Congress at Philadelphia, in order to make a true represen=tation of matters, and to use his endeavors for a committee to be sent to treat with the Commis=sioners, it is to be conceived they either flattered themselves that by this means an honorable accommo=dation might perhaps be brought about, or were desirous of shewing, to all the world, that nothing had been neglected to settle the matter without further bloodshed; Our operations were thereupon delayed untile his return. He came back the 11th with the account that the Congress had appointed a Committee of three of their

Members

14 Sept. 12 Sept.? Members to meet the Commiss.? whenever they thought proper: the next day was appointed, and my Lord Howe & the General with the Secretary to the Commission (Mr Strahey) went to the Jerseys to meet them. The three Persons the Congress chose to send on this occasion were, Doctor Franklyn, J Adams & Rutledge of S. Carolina, three Men the most violent for Independancy of any in their whole body; so that the Meeting was a very short one, for on their declaring themselves deputies from the free & Independant States of America, and refusing to treat on any other terms, his Lordship broke up the Assembly, and returned the same

orders to hoist Ships.

13th Sept: all the Flat Boats were sent to Newtown Creek under the Comd. of Commodore Hotham & several of the Captains; and the Pharnia, Carysfort, Orpheus & Roebuck passed the Batterys of the New-York Town, into the East River, and anchored off the Mouth of it, where the Rose had been for some time, and had a few days before been very roughly handled by a battery the Rebels had erected against her, as the River there is not above three Quarters of a Mile wide. The next day we joined with the General† at Newtown, where it was determined, that the Pharnia & Orpheus, with the Rose, should proceed the Morning of the 15th. against the Rebel Battery opposite to Hell Gate, in order to

† Howe

M
15 Sep: to make a feint and draw the attention of the Enemy that way, whilst the Army should effect a landing at Hepi's Bay, opposite to Newton covered by the Roebuck & Carysfort: But in the morning the Pilots conceiving the Tide would be too rapid for the Ships to anchor off the Rebel Battery (of which Captain Parker acquainted Comr Hotham) the disposition of the Ships were changed: and the whole fleet moved to the other side into Hepi's bay, and took their stations in the best manner to secure the landing of the Army. The Rebels had a line of entrenchment along the Bank, which as the Ships approached they manned and made an appearance of giving a

a strong opposition to the Troops
if they should land there.
General Clinton commanded this
descent: at 9 o'Clock the Boats ap-
proached and coming down the Creek, by
which time they were at the mouth of it,
and as the Tide of Flood run strong, it was
necessary they should row down
along the Shore, a certain distance,
before they attempted to cross the
stream, which brought the whole
embarkation (consisting of five
thousand Men in about 100 boats)
in view at the same time. Six
large Transports lay a little below
taking in the remainder of the
Army; The Hills were cover'd
with Spectators; The Ships kept
up a constant fire, which soon
set the Enemy running, when the
light Infantry & Grenadiers landed,
and climbed up a Rock, by the
Rebels

Note Major André's aid de Camp to Lord Howe carried a flag of truce to the Rebels and on his approach to the Rebel Army was met and conducted to the Head Quarters and gave notice of the Movements of the Enemy in the Treason

1776

15 Oct.

deemed inaccessible, making all together the finest scene one has ever beheld.

Kep't Bay.

In three hours the whole Army was landed and in possession of all the heights within 2 miles, in which they met with little or no opposition: for as soon as it was known the Troops were croped over, the Rebels immediately abandoned the Towns & all their Posts, and made their escape by the side of the North River: some hundreds indeed were intercepted & taken Prisoners but in no degree equal to what might have been expected.

+ of New York

The next day the Army marched forward leaving behind three Regiments for the Guard of the Town & environs, and extended their

Line from River to River: In the afternoon, three Companies of Light Infantry having advanced within Gunshot of the Rebels works, had a Skirmish with a considerable Body of them. They were soon supported by a Hessian Brigade & other Corps, when an end was put to the matter, and they retired back to the ground the General had before given orders to occupy, with the loss of about 20 Men killed & 60, or 70 wounded. What the Rebels lost was not known, but from their situation it was imagined they must have suffered greatly.

The Ground the Enemy now occupied was so exceedingly strong, and their numbers so great (being at least thirty thousand) that the General determined to wait for the last division of Hessians, consisting of

five

five thousand Men (whose
arrival was daily expected) before
he made any further attack
upon them: and then resolved
to embark his army once more,
and land on the Main, in West Chester
County: when the Rebels would
be under the necessity of either meeting
him in the Field, or suffer
themselves to be surrounded. He
therefore gave orders to throw
up a Chain of Redoubts from
River to River in front of his Camp,
and with Ships of war on each
side of his Flanks remained quiet
untill the

22 Sep.d He thought it necessary
however to possess himself of the
Post of Paulus Hook on the West
side of the North River, as it not
only annoyed the Ships passing to

and so, but might do considerable
damage to the Town. The admiral
therefore ordered the Renown Tartar
& a Bomb, against the works, while
Lord Percy was embarked with
about 500 Men to land as soon
as the Enemy should be driven
from their Guns. This attack was
intended to have been made on
the 22d Sept: but being little wind
& the Renown not being able to
get there in proper time, it was
put off until the next day, and
the Raisonable was sent in her place. This delay
however gave the Enemy time
to move off their Stores, Baggage
& Provisions, as well as most of
their Cannon, and upon the Ships
anchoring, the post was quite
abandoned; & Ld. Percy took possession
without the smallest opposition.

A few days before this, the Rebels

Rebels committed in act, which
at once shewed their inveteracy
against us, and their determined
Resolution to sacrifice every
thing to the cause they had
engaged in. They secreted People
in different parts of the Town,
provided with proper combusti-
bles, in order to set fire to
it as soon as the People should
be returned to their Homes, what
they had driven out. They just
gave time for the Houses to be
filled from the Fleet & Army,
and for those to return, that
had been driven away, and
taking the advantage of a very
Stormy Night, about one o'clock
in the morning set fire to the
S.o part of the Town in three or
four places, and as the wind
blew strong from that Quarter

and

most of the Houses were covered with Shingles, it soon made a considerable progress Eastward and for a long time it burnt with so much fury that there were little hopes of saving any part of the City, and even a Number of the Transports that were got to the Keys were looked upon to be in great danger. Boats were immediately sent to bring them off, and a number of Seamen from the Men of war were sent to the assistance of the Inhabitants who, giving all over for lost, at first seemed only to look on with astonish=ment, but at last being rouzed by the activity of the Sailors & Soldiers in pulling down Houses to make breaks in the

The fire, they set heartily to work and being exceedingly well supplied with Engines & Buckets, a stop was put to its progress about 10 O'clock next day, by meer dint of Labour & ingenuity, after burning 9 hours with great fury and consuming at least a quarter of the whole Town.

General Washington & the Heads of the Rebels, took great pains in making a publick denial of their being accessary to this disaster, but nobody believed them: as every circumstance that was discovered tended to prove that there had been people hired for the purpose. Several fellows were taken allmost in the very act of setting Houses on fire: others were taken with

Bundles of Matches dipped in Rozin & Brimstone, under their great Coats. Some of which were thrown into the Flames, or hanged by the Heels, by the enraged Populace; but the greater part of them, with many other suspected Persons were sent to the Jail, where by charging each other with each other, they were so altered that the next day their accusers did not know them, and the greatest part escaped punishment for want of Evidence.

about this time the Commissioners published a declaration, importing, that although the Congress had disavowed every purpose of Reconciliation, not consonant with their extravagant & inadmissable claim of Independency, they (the Comrs.) thought it fit to

to declare that they were equally
desirous to confer with His Majty
well affected Subjects upon the
means of restoring the publick
Tranquility: but this like every
thing of that kind had not the
smallest effect: For so general
was the Revolt, that during the
whole time of the Seige of New-
York, and even after you was
in possession of the Town, not
a Single Man of any sort of
consideration left the Rebels
and came into us. There were
a few Gentlemen (mostly People
who had held offices under Gov:
=ernment) that had secreted
themselves in Long Island, or
had taken refuge onboard the
Ship with Governor Tryon, that

came & joind us, but their number
at the most, that we could learn of,
did not exceed twenty.

3.d Oct.r The Daphne arrived from England
with Burgoyn's Regiment of Light
Horse: They had 10 weeks passage,
and gave account that the
Hessians had sailed about the
same time, so that they were
now hourly expected.

as the Rebel Army was chiefly
supplyed by the North River, and
placed great dependance upon
it, they had taken a great deal
of pains to throw a Boom a cross,
by sinking Vessels & frames of
Timber, to prevent our Ships from
passing up. They had placed these
obstructions in the narrowest
part, where the River is about 12
hundred Yards wide, between two

1776
th
9 Oct.

Hyt Lands, having Fort Washington on the Right, and Fort Constitution on the left, each containing several batterys of heavy cannon, plaied at some distance along the shore, and six Gallys with each a large Gun in their prow, mounted on the bow in front, so that, we understood, they looked upon it to be perfectly secure: and it is possible, from seeing the great preparation they had made, we might also have thought so, if a deserter had not informed the Admiral that there was a passage open between two of the Sunken Vessels, (which his Brother, the Factory Man, had given him marks for) and offered himself as a Pilot. This intelligence was

New York

exceedingly agreable to both the General & Admiral, conciving, that if Ships could be got up the North River, the Rebels supplys would not only be cut off from Albany & that country, but even their communication with the Jerseys would be come very uncertain & unsafe; which could not fail of distressing them, and would very much assist in the intended opperation of surrounding their army as soon as the Hessians should arrive.

9th Oct.

The Phœnix Tartar & Rockbuck were therefore ordered upon this Service, when after waiting a few days for an opportunity they passed through on the 9th Oct.r without the least obstruction, and with little

little loss, considering they were
The Phœnix lost a Mid.n and 12 Men k.d and had 2 Men wounded.
on board a Quarter on within the Enemys fire. The Galleys made the best of their way up the
The Tartar had a Mid.n killed & 2 or 3 wound.d
River, but two of them, with 20 other Vessels that came with
Supplys to the Rebel Camp were
The Roebuck lost the 1.st Lieutenant a Midsh.n 12 Men and had 4 wounded.
soon overtaken, and fell into our hands: The former of which was a great acquisition to us, as they never after dared to shew us their Galleys again.
Much praise is due to Capt.n Parker on this occasion (who led in the Phœnix) for his steady resolute good conduct when they drew near to the danger, the Pilot, in great confusion told him, that the marks which then appeared were not those that had been described to him, and he was totally at a loss, upon which Capt.n Parker, very

very prudently, immediately determined to take his chance where he knew the deepest water to be, which was close to the eastern shore, and which was the passage he came through when he passed down, before the obstructions of the Channel were said to be completed.

as soon as the Ships had passed, preparations were made for the Army to move. all the Flat Boats were sent up the East River and on the of Octr. the greatest part of the Troops under passed thro' Hell gate (a dangerous & intricate navigation) and were landed the same day on a spot in West Chester County, called Frogs Neck. Here however, they remained but a short time, being only meant by the General as a Feint to draw the Enemys attention to that Spot,

accordingly the Troops again took to the Boats and in a few hours landed at Pells Neck a small distance further eastward, with the least opposition. Fortunately at this Juncture General Knyphausen arrived with the last division of Hessians, so that General Howe took the Field with a very consider=able army: Having left Lord Percy, with a sufficient force, to command on the York Island side. who on the 27th made a diversion, by a feint attack upon an advanced redoubt of the Enemys, in which the Repulse & Pearl Frigates were to assist, but as they were not able to get near enough to do any execution the whole ended in every long cannonade at a Distance that did little or no damage on either side.

When General Washington found

the army was landed in West
Chester, he left 3 thousand men
to Garrison Fort Washington &c and
marched forward with all his
Rebel Forces. what number of
Men his army consisted of, we
were never able to ascertain, but
from the best accounts we had,
they amounted to 20 or 25.000.
yet they never could be brought
to a general Battle, but posted them-
selves upon the Hills, from which
they were no sooner driven by our
Troops than they retired to others:
at last an attack upon them for which
happened on the 29th on the white plains
being somewhat more general
and two or three hundred of them
being killed, the whole grew so
dispirited & dis heart that Wash-
ington could no longer keep them
together, therefore thought it

pendant to make the best retreat he could; which he accordingly did immediately after the battle, and retired to a Post at Pigs hill (about 20 Miles further to the Northward) with that part of his army that would follow him: but the greatest part is supposed to have taken their own road and gone to their different habitations, particularly the New Englanders, who went off by whole Brigades. General Howe took all their Cannon and a great deal of Military Stores, and followed them to the Neighbourhood of Savoy Town on the North River, where our
3 Ships lay; when finding it would answer no purpose to march further Northward at this late

Season of the Year, and hearing from General Wiphousen & Lord Percy, who were investing Fort Washington that it was a place of greater strength & importance than they had at first imagined. He gave his army 3 days rest, moved to the Southward and with his whole force marched against the Fort.

The attack was made on the and it was carried with very inconsiderable loss on either side. The Enemy manned their lines and shewed an appearance of making a vigorous defence, but were very soon driven into the Fort, which was scarce large enough to contain so large a body of men. An hour was given them to surrender themselves Prisoners of war: which indulgence they availed themselves of before

it

it was expired, and General Nicholson (who at that time was at the foot of the abbatis, with his Brigade of Highlanders ready for the Storm in case they had determined to hold out) marched in at the Postern of the Fort, which the General afterwards by way of compliment to him changed to the Name of Nicholson. Three thousand Men were taken Prisoners, all the Cannon of the Fort, with Several Mortars & Howitzers, and a large quantity of Military Stores, together with a large Magazine of Provisions fell into General Howe's hands by this capture. One M.r Gaw commanded in the Fort, who together with his Second (a M.r Cadwallader of Philadelphia) behaved with all imaginable Savage Pride upon the occasion, declaring their defeat

was owing to their having been
disappointed of a detachment of
Men that were to have been sent
to them from Fort Lee on the other
side, and that they remained with
too few Men to defend the Lines
(which were extensive) and had
too many to be contained in the
Fort which had caused them
to surrender. During the Hour of
the Parley, the Men had preserved
no sort of order within the Fort,
but expecting every Man to be put
to the sword they had made them-
selves quite drunk, and caused
a most ridiculous spectacle when
they came out to deliver up their
Arms.

after the reduction of this Post
which the Rebels had looked upon
as allmost impregnable, The
General lost no time in pursuing
his success, and immediately sent

sent my Lord Cornwallis with
5. Thousand Men into the Jerseys
to attack ~~to attack~~ the Fort on the
opposite side of the River. They
embarked in the Flat Boats early
in the Evening, intending to land
at Midnight at a place about 5
Miles further up the River: But
when his Lordship came to see the
place, the path seemed so narrow,
& difficult of access, that he could
not be persuaded that it was the
right spot, and went along shore
2 or 3 Miles further to look for a
better: by which delay the Enemy
got apprized of their being landed
and had just time enough to make
their escape before the Army
appeared in sight, and had drawn
out of the Fort some of their Cannon
& Mortars. but as my Lord Cornwallis
was immediately reinforced to 10.
Thousand Men he marched into
the Country, where the Rebels

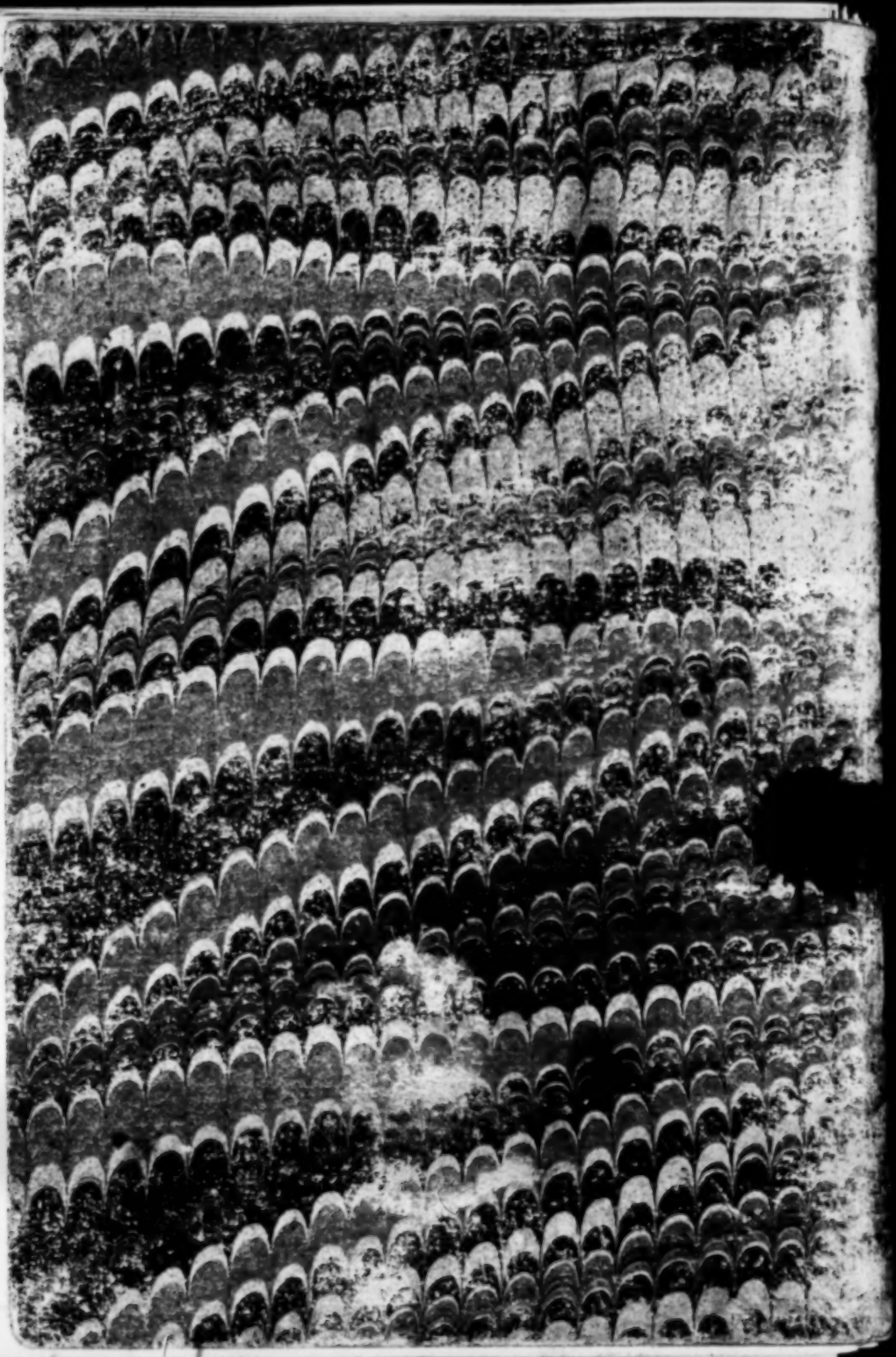
flew every where before him, and all their Cannon & Military Stores fell into his hands. among which were the Mortars that had been taken in the Stand by Ordnance Brig the last winter, and every thing else of any consequence that they had taken from us. During this time my Lord Howe was exerting himself to the utmost to annoy the Enemy by Sea: every Ship was sent out to cruize on different stations the moment they could be no longer useful at New York, and an expedition against Rhode Island had been determined on as soon as the Troops could be spared from the Campaign which might now (since the dispersing of the Rebel army and taking the Forts Washington & Lee) be said to be ended at New York. Eight Thousand men was therefore

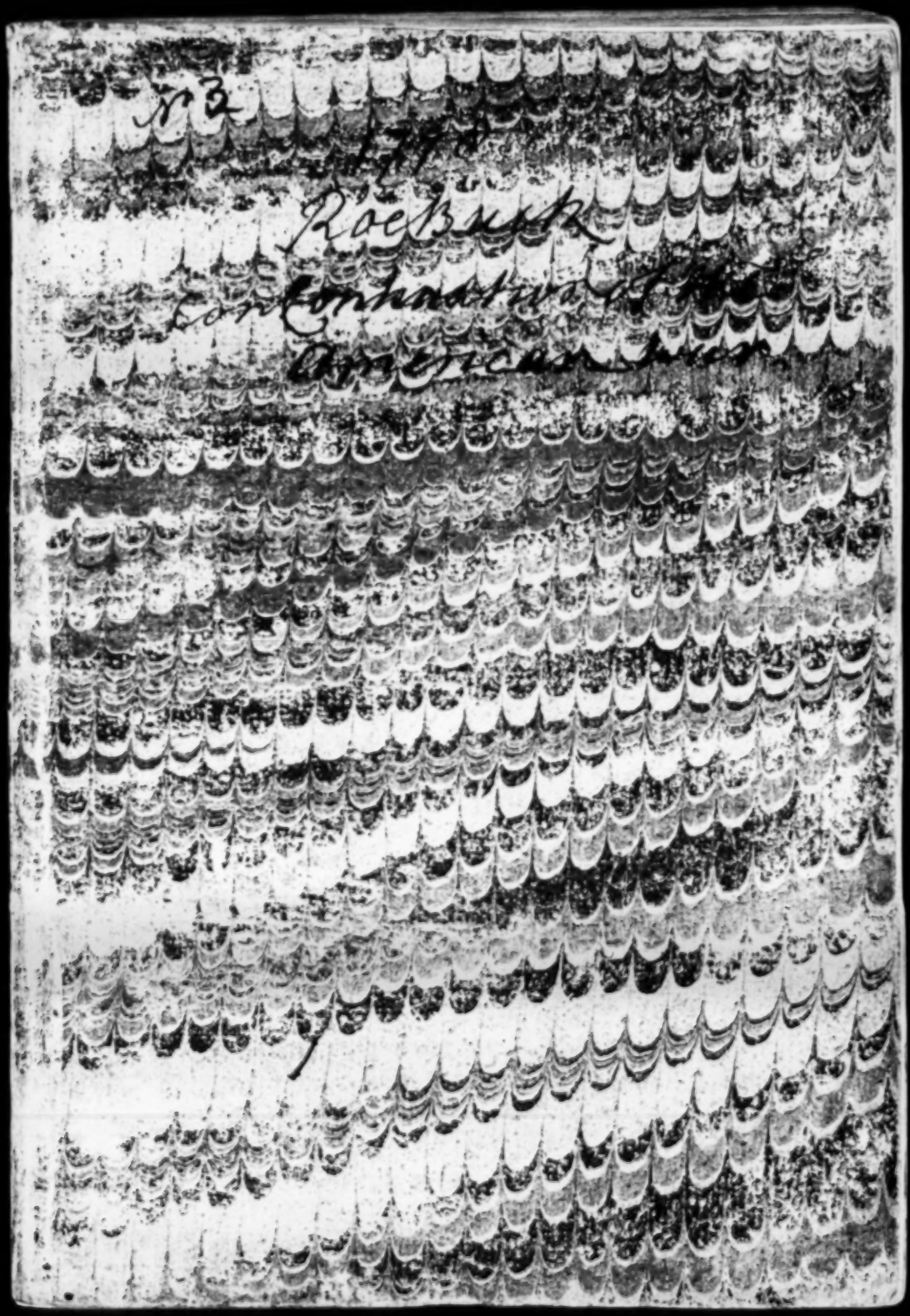
therefore embarked with great expedition & dispatch in Transports under the Command of General Clinton & Lord Percy, and Sir Peter Parker & Commodore Hotham commanded by Sea. Sir Peter with the Men of War consisting of 7 or 8 capital Ships sailed round the S.E. side of Long Island, but the Transports were carried an opportunity, offered by Capt. Bowman the Agent, thro' Hell Gate where they were met by the Boine & Kingfisher & conducted through the Sound.

Notwithstanding all possible secrecy had been kept as to the destination of this armament, yet the Rhode Islanders had no doubt of its being intended against them: perhaps from knowing the necessity we were under of having that Port for our large Ships to winter at, made them suggest it; be

they had determined upon giving it upon
be that as it may, our Fleet no
sooner appeared off then the Rebels
fled from all quarters, and Sir Peter
entered the Harbour, and General
Clinton landed his Troops without
the least loss or opposition.

after all these successes, the
Commissioners again tryed the
effect of another Proclamation,
upon the grounds of the former
one; offering a free and unlimited
pardon to all who should claim
the benefit of His Majestys clemency
before the expiration of sixty days
from 30th Nov.r giving them at the
same time notice & directions
how they should apply. But
this measure had no better effect
than the offers before made





Graham & Hammond

No. 6.

laden with Stores &c. of different
Sorts for the Use of the Army
then at Boston: All of which we took
to New York & when having given
Orders that the upper part of the
River was forgiven up, which the
Severity of the Season after soon left
no room to doubt of, I moved
to the Southward; and having given
each of the Captains orders to
Convoy in certain Latitudes for
a limited time, and fixt the Places
of Comella off Charles Town Bar,
I gave out a Rendezvous for the
Island of Antigua, making the best
of my way thither, in pursuance
of the Admirals Orders to clean K
at
Antigua
1778
Jan.y
27.
& left my Ship: which I accordingly
did.
27. Having taken those Stores on
my passage out of which were
laden with Gun Powder & Sail Cloth,

Two articles furnish the Enemy are
most in want of.

Antigua Few Seamen have happened whilst
we were cleaning our Ships at
Antigua, but as most our People by
being long on board Ship, were affected
by the Scurvy, their Constitutions were
too much impaired to bear this
sudden change of Climate, and a
great number of them died, which
deficiency could no otherways
be made up but by Pressing. Captain
Wilkinson of the Pearl and several
other Officers died, and many others
felt the effects of the
Climate as well as the Sailors,
and upon the whole the Ships
were so much weakened by sickness
that notwithstanding all possible
diligence was used, we were not
able to sail from thence untill
the Middle of March.

The Persian & Camilla were
extremely successful off Charles
Town

Town, as besides driving several of the Enemys Vessels under the Bar, where they were beat to pieces, they took four taken with supplys for the Rebels, and retook two English Merchant Ships of very considerable Value: all of which they brought to. then to Antigua where they arrived, the 20th February.

His Majesty's Squadron under the Command of Admiral Young, have taken about 120 Sail of American Vessels. Their Cruizers have certainly been of use to the Islands but have been of very little consequence in distressing the Enemy. The Prisoners are immediately set at Liberty, and the Vessels are usually bought by American Agents; they are then sent to the Island of Eustatia, where the same people become again the proprietors, take in a Cargo, and return to the continent. I know one Man who told me he had been taken three times in the same Vessel.

The Island of Antigua, and towards the Islands fitted out a number of small Privateers to cruize against the Americans; and could they have gone to Sea properly authorized to have made Captures, and given security for their good behaviour, they would certainly, from their Size & knowledge of the Navigation, have interrupted the Enemys Trade to & from the Neutral Islands, much more than the Men of War could do; but as no Commissions had been granted for Privateers in England admiral Young thought it his duty to prevent these Vessels from going to Sea, fearing for his said they might act collusively with the Americans, and as they had given no security, might from their proceedings, involve the Nation in Disputes with the Neutral Powers. The Admiral in the beginning of Sailing these Vessels, not suffering them to go to Sea

Antigua ffor, and ordered the Attorney General to prosecute one of them, which he refused to do; Therefore on receiving repeated complaints from the French Governors of the depredations that those Vessels made upon the Coasts of their Islands, he gave orders to his Ships, to take the Privateers and send them into Port which they accordingly did and the Owners of them Prosecuted the admirals for their detention, which of course, brought on a disagreeable quarrel between him & the Inhabitants of the Island: which could no ways be settled but by appealing home.....

8 Mar. As soon as the Ships were refitted we was not unable the 18th March, I sailed from Antigua with the Roebuck Pearl, Pearl and Camilla and after stopping at St Christophers to take in water put to Sea the 22d following, and pursued our Voyage towards the River Delaware. In

1777 In our way thither we had the good
6th April fortune to take two of the Rebel
Continental Cruizers, the one of
18 Guns and another of 10 Guns
besides four or five small
Vessels laden with different
supplys for the Continent, and
arrived off Cape Henlopen the
6th of April. The next day
off the I fell in with Commodore Hotham
River in the Daphne, who now took
Delaware the Command of the Squadron, and
(this Ship the Preston being sent
to New York to refit) He hoisted
his Pendant on board the Roebuck.

On my arrival in the Delaware
we were informed that the Rebel
Frigate called the Randolph had
sailed about a few weeks before, but meeting
with bad weather had sprung her
masts, and had put into Charles
Town

South Carolina to sept. For this disappointment however we were amply made amends by intercepting a large Ship which the Enemy had sent to France for Powder, Military Stores & Cloathing for their army. Not being able to cut her off from the Land, She attempted to run ashore, which she had nearly effected, under a very heavy fire from the Ships which she returned, when she instantly blew up into the air, and when the Smoke cleared away not the smallest vestige of her remained to be seen.— She was called the Morris; and besides 30 Tons of Gun Powder, was said to have a Cargo on board worth 50 thousand pounds.— another of their Ships had been taken by the Dauphine a little before, and a third was taken about

their trade in the west Indies, which
together made up a capital loss
to the Enemy.

after the affair of Trenton, Gen.
In the Jerseys { Howe found it necessary to
draw in the cantonments of his
army more to a center, as
during the winter months he
aimed at nothing but keeping
his people secure in their
quarters. and this Gen. Washington
did all he could to oppose: so
that from the middle of Jan.
to the middle of March there
were continual skirmishes: and
though we were almost in
every instance victorious,
yet in the great number of
little battles that happened in

in the Course of that time we
lost a great many Men; and to
do the Enemy justice it must
be acknowledged that in this
sort of war they frequently shewed
a degree of cleverness that was
sometimes very troublesome to
our Troops, from their superior
knowledge of the Country. And
here it will be necessary to say, in
order to account for what happened
at the ensuing Campaign, of how
much consequence the Victory gained
at Trenton was to the Rebels, and
how much they availed themselves
of the advantage of it. Hitherto
the Continental Troops had been
raised only for a limited time, which
towards the close of this year expired
in most of the Batalions, which
together

together with the forces of all we
they had met with in the field
during the course of the summer,
had left General Washington, at
the time my Lord Cornwallis drove
him into the Town of Philadelphia,
an army of not more than 2
thousand men at the utmost, and
had it been possible for the British
Troops to have crossed the Delaware
after the Enemy, very few of that
Army would have remained
together to have opposed the taking
possession of Philadelphia: so
thoroughly had the panic seized
them, and so strong a party was
there in the Town in favor of
Government. But no sooner
was it discovered that General
Howe had no intention of
crossing the River, and was
quietly

putting his army into winter
quarters, than the spirits of the
desperate party began to revive,
and prospects opened to them, that
the most sanguine among them
had never before conceived possible.
Every engine was immediately set to
work, and every art made use of
to collect a body of Men together:
offering uncommon rewards, and
the fullest assurances that their
services would only be required
for a few weeks, merely to defend
the City: by these means about
4 Thousand men were got together;
and as they had a considerable
armed force upon that part of the
River, with every kind of boat
necessary, and it is to be presumed
no want of intelligence of the
situation of our army) the Post
at Trenton presented itself to
their

their view as an object the most favorable for a last stake. Such it certainly was, and had it been defeated, there is the greatest reason to believe that the Americans would never have been able to have raised another army. For notwithstanding the congress had voted 88 Batalions to be raised for the continuance of the war, each Colony being rated according to its supposed ability, it is a fact well known, that scarce any men could be got to enlist; being heartily tired of what they had already undergone or heard of; the whole country being impress with the Idea that the British Troops would soon be beat, and had conceived herwith apprehension of the ferocity of the Hessians.

The success of that unfortunate affair to Great Britain, entirely

entirely changed the face of things in America; the new levies went on rapidly in the several Colonies, and besides continually harrassing our Troops in their winter quarters, which brought on frequent skirmishes; indeed we were mostly successful and some of our Officers particularly distinguished themselves; and none more so than Colonel Mawhood) the Enemy very early began to take measures for making a vigorous defence in the Jerseys the ensuing Campaign; and accordingly began fortifying some high grounds, and laying in a considerable magazine of Provisions & Stores. So that by the middle of April the Rebels boasted of having an Army of 20 thousand Men in the field, and that they were in a situation to meet General Howe on any ground. But notwithstanding this

boasting it is evident the Congress did not place any great dependance on the resistance they should be able to make, as they gave positive directions to the Inhabitants of Philadelphia to move all their goods & effects out of the Town by the 1st of May; and did not neglect providing for their further security by fortifying York Town and Carlisle, two places across the Susquehanah 100 Miles west of Philadelphia where they laid in very considerable magazines of all kinds, which in the end became an object of attention to Genl Howe.

Such was the appearances of things at the time it was expected we should open the Campaign, and the delay of doing it seemed to create a general astonishment; some

some attributed it, to the expectation
of being to receive a considerable
augmentation to both Land & Sea forces
from England, others to a total
want of Camp Equipage, which
latter seems in some degree to have
been the Case, for as soon as it arrived
(which was not 'till the beginning
of May) the army was immediately
in motion.

In the mean time two
expeditions were set on foot
against two considerable magazines
of the Enemy at Fish Kill &
Danbury. The one was Commanded
by Colonel Bird & that to
Danbury by Governor Tryon, lately
made a Major General in order
to have the Chief Command of
the New Provincial Corps at
New York, which now amounted
to about 5000 Men. Both these
expeditions were conducted &

great ability & address, and succeeded in the fullest extent, to the great damage & loss of the Enemy, and very little loss on our part. (a)

All this while the admiral was very fully & actively employed at New York in making preparations for a grand armament, the destination of which was kept so secret, that no one presumed to say where it was designed; but the Enemy expected it either at Philadelphia or Boston. all the Transports & Flat boats were put in order, and a very large Merchant Ship that from her construction drew little water, was cut down & converted into a Floating Battery to carry 16 Twenty four Pounders; another & some Galleys were attempted, but the very few

(a) in this affair the Rebels lost General Woodhull

few shipwrights on the spot, but
with all most a total want of
useful Naval Stores, made it
impossible for the Admiral to
go on with his plan without
giving up the accompanying expence
of the Convoy Frigates as they
came in.

about the midle of May
the supply arrived from England,
which consisted of six line of
battle Ships, with a compliment
of Hessians, and part Troops
& Seamen, making in the whole
about two thousand & 25 hund.
men; and on the 5 June the
army began to embark on board
the Transports, and they soon after
fell down to Amboy, where
they were disembarked and
every thing landed with an
appearance of hostility on the part
of

in the Jerseys. However as it was known that Genl Washington had posted himself upon a chain of mountains, with a view of retiring from Hill to Hill as he found occasion; there who were acquainted with his situation, and judged his Plan was delay, conceived very little hopes that he would give us any opportunity of coming to action with him unless on terms too disadvantageous for General Howe to accept: which happened exactly to be the case; for after marching out with the army as far as Somerset Court House, and by several repeated movements to small attacks inviting the Enemy to action, to no purpose, it appeared clearly that not-

with

that notwithstanding the boasted
numbers of the Enemy, which they
called 30 Thousand Men, the Rebel
knew his interest too well, to
venture from his strong holds; and
attacking him where he was, was
deemed too rash an expedient;
therefore as all this was expected
(and perhaps at first meant only
as a secondary part in the intended
operations) it became of course
no disappointment, and the Army
was immediately ordered to embark.
which as soon as the Enemy perceived
them to be doing, they made some
movements towards the Rear
of the Army, that had nearly
cost them very dear, and brought
on several skirmishes, in which
they lost a good many Men, and
3 pieces of French Cannon.

This evacuation of the Jerseys
of course gave the Enemy great

Spirits, as they afterwards gave themselves credit for having driven the army away, which they gave out at Philadelphia (in hand bills) they should do again, whenever General Howe should again make any descent, and it is impossible to imagine the Cruelties that were exercised upon all those People in the Jerseys who had shewn the least inclination to the Kings Troops, or had even remained in their Houses during the time the Troops were there.

July 1777 The whole Fleet consisting of 250 Sail left New York with a northerly wind, which lasted them only a few hours, so that it was the 31st before they reached the mouth of the Delaware. I had been apprized of their coming

coming and stood out to sea to meet them, when a consultation was held between the admiral & the General on the expediency of landing the Troops up the Delaware, or whether they should proceed on to Chesapeake Bay with the Fleet, and land the army at the head of it in the Mr. branch." The arguments used against the Delaware were chiefly, that as General Washington by the long passage of the Fleet from New York, had got his army over the Delaware, before the Fleet arrived, great opposition was expected to be given to the Troops at landing at Newcastle or Wilmington the places intended. That the Enemy expecting the Fleet to come into the River had made

an common preparation to
among the Men of war Towards
with Fire Ships & five rafts, and
had besides a considerable
number of Row Galleys, Rebeck
& Floating Batterys, which in
the Narrow Navigation & rapid
tides of the River might do
great damage among the
Transports: that by going to the
Head of Chesepeak bay the Troops
would be put ashore without any
molestation, have time to recover
the Horses after the fatigue of the
Voyage before they entered on Service,
and where the Transports could
remain in perfect security for
any length of time that might
be found necessary. In the Delaware
you was expected, and the Enemy
was in force & had made preparation
to receive you; In Chesepeak Bay
you was not expected, the Enemy
could

could there no obstruction in your way and it even and the distance to Philadelphia only 17 Miles."

as I was present at this Conversation I could not help expressing my surprize at the bare mention of Chesepeak Bay, upon which (my Ld H in confidence) told me "that the General's wishes & intentions were first to destroy the magazines at York & Carlisle before he attacked the Rebel army or took towards Philadelphia; and though it was of course a great object to get to the Westward of the Enemy."

as I had for some time past seem to expect the armament was intended against Philadelphia, and had of course made some preparations for the guidance of the Fleet up the River, I could not help contending for the propriety of pushing up as far as they might go with perfect safety from any

thing that was to be apprehended from the Enemy. I confessed that carrying all the Fleet as high as Newcastle would subject them to insult & danger from the Enemy's Row Galleys & fire Vessels; but that by advancing the Men of War only to said Newcastle, the Transports would be perfectly secure at Reedy Island. The admiral I think seemed to incline to the Delaware, and but the General saying "he was from the beginning for making the landing in Chesepeak Bay," and the wind at that time being quite favorable for going to the Southward, the resolution was accordingly taken; but not until the Quarter Master General was consulted as to the State of the Forage who reported, that sufficient remained for 14 days.

The Fleet had not sailed 10 leagues before their former ill fortune returned, and the Southerly wind

became so fixed that they did not reach the entrance of the Capes of Virginia untile the
15 Aug.t and on the next day the whole anchored off Newpoint Comfort, six leagues up the Bay.

From this time the progress of the Fleet was very rapid; and tho' the Chesepeak Bay is
Chesapeak Bay. an intricate navigation, and what was never attempted before but by very small Merchant ships, it was effected by the whole Fleet of Men of War as well as Transports in about 5 days, without any accident whatever: see the Shoals & dangers having been marked by small Vessels aforeth; for which purpose the Rockbuck had been sent a head of the Fleet.

11 21. was sent in exploring the Nth. Branch & the River Elk; and the preference being given to the

Light Infantry, Five Thousand men were landed before day Light in the Flat Boats, and proceeded at 4 in the morning up the River Elk, covered by the Vigilant, Rochuck Apollo, Thunderbomb, with the remainder of the army following in Transports. at 10 o'clock the first division was landed without Opposition to cover their Comrades, and before night the whole disembarkation was finished without the least interruption.

The next day the General with part of the army moved forward to Elk Town, which is at the head of the River, and at about 10 Miles Distance from the place of Landing, the Stores & heavy artillery being conveyed thither by water in Boats & small Vessels.

General Howe immediately on Landing published a Proclamation offering Pardon to such as had not taken part in military or Legislative capacities,

August

to invite the Inhabitants of the Country to come in, and to assure them that their property would not be molested, but it had no better success here than in other parts of the Country, as almost every body fled from their Houses. One Farmer however found his way onboard the Admiral's Ship, where he declared that he had plenty of cattle upon his Farm, but absolutely refused selling any until the two armys should have met. Let General Howe but beat Gen.l Washington (says he) and drive him finally out of the Country, and you shall have what you please, but not a single Bullock without that.

Whether might have been the General's first intention - by coming here he soon found occasion to change his design; for upon

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necessary intelligence that Mr. Washington was posted on the Forks of the Brandywine, where he was fortifying his Camp and (as was said) had pledged himself to his army that he would stand his ground in order to cover the City of Philadelphia, it was therefore digestible resolved in Council to march immediately up to the Enemy with the whole army (which was about 16 Thousand effective Men) there to awaken it by sending off a detachment to destroy the Magazines at York &c. according

1. Sept. the army set forward with 10 days provisions only, no Tents, and with less Baggage perhaps than ever an army moved with before. And How'd the Fleet remained at the mouth of the Elk, but the Roe Buck with three Victualling

Transports

I transports returned to the Delaware, where I joined the 4th 16th Lt. and resumed the Command of the 3d Brigade, proceeded up the River as high as Reed Island and waited there to hear news from the army. having previously sent an Express to Philadelphia with the agreeable intelligence of the General had several Skirmishes with parties of the Rebels that lay in his way in his march, in all which he was successful, and on the 11th gained a signal Victory over the whole Rebel army near Chads's Ford on the Brandywine. The British army was divided in two Columns, one Commanded by Genl. Knyphausen who attacked faintly the Rebel army in front, whilst the other Composed of the light Infantry & Grenadiers Guards &c &c and Comm.d by the General & Lord Cornwallis made a considerable detour to the left,

Th 11 Sept. 1777

and fell upon the Right wing of the Enemy by surprize, which threw them into such confusion that they fled with great precipitation; and as Gen. Knyphausen pushed forward at the same time the Victory was compleat, but would have been much more decisive had there been more day light. The Right wing on the Woodyards of the Courthouse received any Quarter: 350 were killed on the Spot and about 400 taken Prisoners. our Loss amounts to about 150 killed & 300 Wounded

Continuation of the Battle. The general directs on this additional Loss to the Enemy in the action and that had Sir William's wounded not been taken by the General this Letter was written on the Ground by Major Mitchell during the action

the Letter of which, two days after the action, were sent forth a Brigade of Hessians to the Town of Wilmington on the Delaware, where the most of them recovered in a short time. It was generally allowed through the whole army, that

that in this action Sir William Howe distinguished himself as a General in a very particular manner, and there is no part of the whole war where General Washington seems to have been so much outwitted, or to have put so much in the power of his antagonist, and by a letter I saw of his some time after he thought so himself, but why Mr. Wm. Howe remained so long as five days on the field of Battle after so decisive a Victory I never could learn; I fear it was the cause of the Rebel army getting together again, which for two days appears to have been totally dispersed, but of this it seems he had no good intelligence.

After the wounded were sent off on the 14th. Sept. to Wilmington the General marched on the 16th. as far as the White Horse on the Lancaster Road. Here an Un common

Rain fell so violently for 5 or 6
hours that he was obliged to remain
a day or two for the Roads
& acoutrements in order; had not
this happened he would certainly
have forced the Rebels to a second
engagement, who had now quitted
Philadelphia, and had assembled
in that neighbourhood in much
greater force than could hospitably
be imagined after so recent a
defeat. Several movements
& attempts were made by the General
to get near them, but all to no
purpose, except what was effected
by General Grey, who with a detach-
=ment of about 1500 Men, surprized
in the night about 300 of about the
same number under General
Wayne, a Corps intended to harass
the Rear of our army in their
progress through the Country.
This expedition was conducted
with

with great ability & success. The Pickets were surprised & our Troops entered the Rebel Camp without firing a single shot. 300 were killed by the bayonet and the rest were entirely dispersed, with the loss of all their Baggage, Tents &